LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.
Chap. DA437
Shelf .C6A3
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A Contemporary Account of

the Sufferings of the Rebels

sentenced by Judge

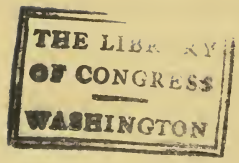
Jefferies.

A Memorandum of the Wonderful Providences of God to a poor unworthy Creature, during *the time of the Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion and to the Revolution in* 1688.

By John Coad,
one of the Sufferers.

LONDON:
Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans,
Paternoster Row.
1849.

DA437
.C6A3



PREFACE.

THE authenticity of the MS. from which this little book is printed, is ſhewn at once by its contents, its ſquare, old, ſhrivelled covers of vellum, its leaves of coarſe texture and tawny hue, and by the evidence of the perſons through whoſe hands it has paſſed to its preſent owner. It might have lain for ages in ſome obſcure hiding place, ſave when talk of the times deſcribed or of the men of old whoſe ſufferings it re-

cords, might haply have called it forth to tell its tale of woe, triumphant zeal, and Christian resignation. It might have perished by accident or gradual decay, and its contents thus have been lost to the world, but for the circumstance of its finding its way into the hands of Mr. Macaulay* who was pleased with its quaintness and its truth;

* "The best account of the sufferings of those rebels who were sentenced to transportation, is to be found in a very curious narrative written by *John Coad*, an honest God-fearing carpenter who joined *Monmouth*, was badly wounded at *Philips Norton*, was tried by *Jeffreys*, and was sent to *Jamaica*.—The original manuscript was kindly lent to me by Mr. *Phippard*, to whom it belongs."—Macaulay's *Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 647.—*Note.*

—and whoſe favourable opinion led the Editor to hope that its contents would not be unacceptable to the Public.

The MS. contains the memoirs of a pious man who lived at a time when men were not aſhamed of their religion; when they would rather be found praying at the corners of the ſtreets than be ſuſpected of not praying at all; and when God was ſo much in their ſpeech that He muſt of neceſſity have been ſometimes in their thoughts. In his days, the mailed hands were often raiſed in prayer, and as audibly was the bleſſing aſked on the battle field, as in the cloſet. The writer is conſcious of ſome ſuperiority to

his associates, but he never exalts himself as a pattern saint. He confesses himself a Deserter from his earthly prince, but only that, according to his light, he may the better serve his *Heavenly King*. Few will read without emotion, this record of pious resignation, and unwavering trust in *God*, exhibited under manifold tortures both of mind and body. Doubtless had the writer's spirit partaken more of the meekness and gentleness of his Master *Christ*, he might have refrained from applying some bitter and taunting epithets to *Jeffreys;* but with him they are only the expressions of honest indignation, and while reading his emphatic reprobation of that

official ſcourge we almoſt exclaim, Well done, old Puritan!

It may be not unintereſting to the reader to learn ſome further particulars of the writer and his "Memorandum."

John Coad dwelt at *Stoford*, a hamlet in *Berwick Pariſh* near *Yeovil* in *Somerſetſhire;* and there are now in that Churchyard, tombſtones marking the deceaſe of ſeveral members of his family.

By certain Statutes of *Charles II.* ſuch perſons only as poſſeſſed a certain amount of perſonal or landed eſtate were liable to ſerve in the Train bands or Militia of their reſpective Counties, to ſuppreſs rebellion, or reſiſt invaſion. *Coad*

ſpeaks occaſionally of his eſtate, which became forfeited to the Crown, or eſcheated to the Lord of the Manor on his attainder, at Wells aſſizes. He ſeems to have been well known on the road to *Weymouth*, whence he was tranſported as a Convict to *Jamaica*. His writings ſhew that he was in advance of his fellows in the ſame rank of life; and his conduct and acquirements gained him the eſteem of the nonconforming miniſters in *Jamaica*, and of men who had been ſent thither by *Cromwell*, or of their deſcendants, whom it was his good fortune to meet on his arrival.

The account of his ſufferings

muſt have been written after his return home in 1690, as he quotes a letter ſubſequently received from his dear and loving friend Mr. *Harks Garbrand* the "good man at whoſe houſe he had ſpent ſo many comfortable Sabbaths," deſcribing the deſolating Earthquake in June 1692 whereby *Port Royal* was almoſt overwhelmed.

After *Coad* returned from his baniſhment his troubles ſtill continued; but his courage was unſhaken. Having loſt his firſt wife, he married a young woman in his old age. The offspring of this union were a ſon and a daughter. The ſon became a Diſſenting miniſter named *Thomas Coad* of *Dorking*,

where may ſtill be ſeen a mural tablet with the following inſcription :

In Memory
of
The Rev. Mr. *Thomas Coad*,
Late Paſtor of this Church,
Born at *Stoford Somerſetſhire*,
D'yd Jan. 24th 1749, Aged 52,
And lyes Buried in this Veſtry.
NON OMNIS MORIAR.

Here, In expectance of the great aſſize
And hope of endleſs joys beyond the Skies
His mortal part the Body mould'ring lies.

How juſt his hopes, and what his conduct here
Will at that day without diſguiſe appear,
Reader, be wiſe! and for thy change prepare.

The Daughter named *Sarah* married. On her grand-daughter's death at *St. Croſs* near *Winchester* in 1808 the original MS.

from which the following pages are printed was found in her trunk, and became the property of her only ſiſter *Ann Poſthumous* of *Dorcheſter* lately deceaſed. Several copies of the original MS. are in exiſtence. Theſe were made for the uſe of various deſcendants of the writer, who took much intereſt in their family hero; but they do not compriſe the whole of the original, which contains by way of addenda, the narrative turned into verſe. The editor however has not thought it neceſſary to give the poetical verſion to the public.

THE EDITOR.

A Memorandum of the

Wonderful Providences of God to a poor unworthy Creature,

(From 12th of June 1685 unto the 24th of November in the year 1690) in and after the Revolution betweene the Duke of *Monmouth* and King *James*.

Chapter I.

AFTER the death of King *Charles* II. and the advance of the Duke of *Yorke* to the Crowne, Popery and arbitrary government did more visibly appear in continuall and unwearyed plotting and contriving to weaken the Protestant party, which gave great cause of feare of the subversion of our

Religion and Liberties, from which we had great hopes of deliverance by the Duke of *Monmouth's* appearance, and declaration for the proteſtant religion and liberty; who arrived at *Lyme* 11th of June 1685. The 13th day, being commanded out in my traine armes for King *James*, went from home, with full reſolution to goe to the Duke's aſſiſtance as ſoone as I could; but, conſidering the weight of this affair and the danger of ſuch an enterprize, had great reaſonings within me while marching in the King's traine: the helliſh oaths and ribauldry of many of that Company ſtrengthened my reſolutions in going off. But the two oppoſites in my apprehenſion was plainly popery and ſlavery and proteſtantiſm and liberty; to contend for the former, and oppoſe the latter was directly againſt my principle and conſcience: the concluſion

then was, it is beſt to keepe peace (moſt well, this noble reſolution) within, though there was war without; better to incur the wrath of an earthly king than an almighty *God*.

Moreover, I got an opportunity at *Charde* to retire in a garden alone; there conſidered againe of the enterprize, and earneſtly ſeeking to *God* by importunate prayer for direction, guidance and protection, was yet more confirmed in my reſolution, and as it were conſtrained to deny myſelf, and leave my all with *God*, body, ſoule, wife, children, eſtate and all to divine providence and protection. The next day we advanced from *Charde* towards *Axminſter*, but on the news of the enemy's being at hand the moſt were driven with feare backward, but I was drawn by love forward; and next morning, wading through a river to eſcape watch-

es, being the 16th day, came to *Axminſter*, and tendered myſelf and armes to the *Duke*, was kindly accepted, where I found Mr. *Fergu∫on* at prayer; and ſoon after Major *Foxe* gave the orders of the Army, giving ſtrict charge againſt ſwearing, thieving, and plundering, &c. with Penalties on the breach thereof.

From whence we travelled eaſtward without any conſiderable hindrance until we came to *Keyn∫ham*, where the enemy came upon us at unawares, and aſſaulting 3 paſſages to the Towne, but could not prevaile, but retreated with the loſs of about 20 men, where I came to puſh of pike with them, yet through the protection of *God* had no harm.

From hence, marching eaſtward, we lay one night at *Philips-Norton*. Next morning, our enemies, coming on us by ſurprize, attacked the north weſt entrance into the Towne, guarded only

with two companies, of which I, being in one, received a ſhot through my left hand wriſt, and alſo under my left breaſt, at which inſtant falling to the ground, bleeding exceſſively, lay under foot during the fight, being cut down, but not cut off; caſt down but not forſaken: for, the fight being over, was taken up alive, but almoſt without ſenſe of ſeeing or feeling; ſome means were uſed to ſtop the blood; but my wounds being judged mortal, and wondering I was not dead, the chirurgions refuſed to dreſs my wounds; but the ſame evening, notwithſtanding the great raine which fell, our camp moving eaſtward, I was caſt on a waggon with few clothes about me; the ſhaking of the waggon made my wounds bleed afreſh; yet my ſenſes being ſomething reſtored, deſpairing of life, I deſired death, but could not obtain it; went on eaſtward to *Frome*.

The good and gracious *God* ſtill ſhowing his power, in my weakneſs bearing me up, as it were by miracle of mercy, being in great meaſure deſtitute of all outward accommodations, as friends, food, raiment or Phyſitian. Then returning weſtward, after 3 days lying in my blood undreſſed, came to *Shepton Mallet*. Next morning obtained the favour of being dreſſed: one Mr. *Hardy*, an apothecary in *Lyme*, cutting off my bloody clothes, ketched and ſtuck faſt to my body, in ſearching found the bullet lodged in the loins of my back, cut it out; but the Army being ſtill in motion, and marching weſtward, had no opportunity of being dreſſed, until I came to *Middleſex*, where, meeting with my Wife in the time of the 4 days Act of Pardon, being diſabled as to any further ſervice, came away intending to lay hold on the Act; but the ſame day

was taken with a violent fever, could reach no farther than *Long Sutton*, where I could obtain neither Phyſitian nor Chirurgion: my condition ſeemed diſmal and deſperate, yet by the goodneſs and mercy of my *God*, and the ſlender meanes that was uſed by the midwife of the place, who adventured to come to me privately by night for a while, life was prolonged, the ſwelling and rage of my wounds ſomething abated; an incredible deal of wateriſh blood working ſtill out of the wound of my back, was ſtill under great affliction, yet through the malice of ſome neighbours, was deprived of the aſſiſtance of the midwife, &c.; the *Duke's* army being routed I had trouble upon trouble, and dangers upon dangers, for then inſtead of Friends to viſit and ſympathize, I had ſtore of Enemies who rifled, reproached and curſed me; being in the

houſe of an Enemy, had no human defence from the violence of the inhuman Soldiers; but they that took my goods and clothes might have taken my life, but my *God* was my fortreſs and ſtrength; He that ſaith to the Sea, *Hitherto ſhalt thou come and no farther, and here ſhall thy proud waves be ſtayed:* He that gave the Devil and his inſtruments power over *Job's* goods, ſuffered them not to touch his body, ſo as to cut him off; by this ſame Power I was preſerved from being cut off by violent hands: moſt remarkable was the power and providence of *God* ſeen in this wiſe: for one night, there came Soldiers on purpoſe, having had information who and what I was, as they ſwore deſperately they would kill me, and put me out of the pain; as they came up ſtairs, one of them, having a piſtol in his hand, fired in the chamber where I lay; the

Piſtol being over-loaded did me no harm, but hurt his hand that diſcharged it, which made him run down curſing and ſwearing as faſt as he came up ſtairs. This ſudden affright ſomething ſtartled me; but through mercy had no leſs nor worſe effects than theſe: from that very time I had the benefit of nature, which I had wanted ſeveral days before, and the fever left me. That *God* which brings good out of evil brought me relief, and did me good by the hands of enemies: yet ſtaying in the houſe all night, they ſeveral times came up with execrable oaths and death in their mouthes, would come to my bed ſide, and once took me by the hand, and, notwithſtanding his rage and drunkenneſs which he was in, was forced to pity me, and departed lamenting my condition: not only the Hands but the Hearts of men are in the hand of the *Lord* who

hath ſaid *The wrath of man ſhall prayſe him, and the reſt and remainder he will reſtrain;* no more wrath ſhall be let out than ſhall turn to his Glory: Thus the *Lord* was with me in the fire of affliction, This poor man cryed to the *Lord*, and he heard him. The next morning, when they had got a promiſe from me to pay what they ſpent in drunkenneſs and exceſs in the night, they departed, and went to the Lord *Stawel* with information againſt me; at which, being greatly enraged and big with revenge, gave forth that I ſhould be brought before him, with this aſſertion, that if I was not hanged, he would be hanged for me. Reply was made that I was not able to go nor ride; at which he ordered them to bring me on a ſlide. Thus walking through the valley of the ſhadow of death, had *God's* preſence and protection, which ſaved and

delivered me; though the Lion did gape and roar, yet could not devour me.

The tidings of this Lord's rage was brought me at night, whereupon I inſtantly ſent my wife to unkle *Thomas Knight* to deſire him to go to Sir *Edward Phelips*, to deſire him to crave the Lord's leave that I might be brought before him; which being granted, the meſſenger was ſent to the Lord *Stawel* to acquaint him that I was one of his Soldiers, and he deſired I might be referred to him: this alſo was granted: and as the apoſtle *Paul* appealed from one enemy to another, ſo did I, and had this benefit of a few days liberty, till I could get a horſe litter to transfer myſelf from thence to *Ilcheſter;* and committed myſelf to the keeper of the priſon for ſecurity and ſafety from other enemies: and, although it was a hard ſhift, yet then I had ſome reſt, and Sir *Ed-*

ward Phelips ordered a chirurgion to take care, if poſſible he could, to ſave my life, though to an evil purpoſe.

Yet ſuch was the wonderful providence and goodneſs of *God* that all wrought for my good, during my abode at *Ilcheſter;* which was 10 or 11 weekes: my wounds were much mended and ſtrength ſomewhat recovered, yet ſtill under much weakneſs and my wounds open: was taken and drawn in a wain to *Wells'* aſſize, where we had a church for our priſon, a board for my bed, and ſomething more than the ſhadow of death for my comfort; for a neighbour who had much acquaintance with *Colonel Helyer* came and told me that I might expect nothing but death, for evidence was prepared, and the aggravations were that I was a deſerter, and ran from my colours to the Duke. Leſs than which was argument enough

to make the Lion's Whelp *Geo. Jeffreys* to roar againſt, yea, to damn me, if it lay in his power; for being arraigned and pleading Guilty, was condemned to be hanged and quartered, together with 600 and more, my name ſet on the dead liſt to be executed at *Wells* a few dayes after. Here was the utmoſt link of the Lion's chain; for my enemies though the chief, yet they were conquered and baffled enemies, limited and reſtrained: The *Lord Jehovah* was on my ſide, elſe I had been ſwallowed up quite. Theſe great waves and billowes had gone over my head, but even in the mount of ſtraites *God* was ſeene: and did evidently and eminently appear for me, and the name of that place was *Jehovah Jireh*, for *God* did provide an exchange. The ſentence of death was reverſed in Heaven. *God's* thoughts are not as man's thoughts, nor *God's*

wayes like man's wayes; but, as the heavens are high above the earth, ſo was his thoughts of mercy towards me. Here was the loweſt ſtep in this valley of death, yet I may ſet up my *Ebenezer* and ſay, the *Lord* hath helped me, yea, was graciouſly preſent with me; even when I ſtood before that bloody *Nero*, *Geo. Jefferies*, I found ſuch inward ſupport and comfort that I could not ſay that I feared any evil: but when above 600 condemned men fell on their knees, and moſt dolorouſly cried for mercy, I could not bow a knee or ſpeake a word for mercy; but had ſuch workings of ſpirit, and ſomething did, as it were, ſpeak within me, that if it were a thing poſſible to be done, I would not exchange conditions with the *Judge* at the Bench though I was condemned at the Bar: for *God* commanded the Light of inward peace and comfort to ſhine out

of ſuch outward darkneſs, that I had ſome good apprehenſions of the glory of *God* in the face of *Jeſus Chriſt;* and I may ſay with the apoſtle *Paul, I was much troubled but not diſtreſſed, perplexed but not in deſpair, perſecuted but not forſaken, caſt down but not caſt away or deſtroyed:* for *God* was my hope, my help, and my ſalvation; howbeit my hope was not in this life, for then I had been moſt miſerable; but the anchor of my ſoule, Hope, was caſt within the vayle, and the foundation of my faith and hope ſtood firmly upon the rock of my *Saviour's* merits, and the foundation of *God* ſtood ſure: the *Lord* knew me in adverſity, and I may ſay with *David,* 2 Samuel 22. 5, 7, *When the waves of death compaſſed me, the floods of ungodly men made me afraid; in my diſtreſs I cryed and called upon the Lord and cryed to my God, and he did heare my voice out*

of his temple, and my cry did enter into his eares. For while I was at prayer with many others, in a morning came my ſiſter that attended me, and calling haſtily upon me, I went to her; and ſhe told me there was an Officer come into the cloiſter to call out 200 men for *Jamaica* ſhe much preſſed me to endeavour to get out amongſt them, ſhe being much troubled that morning by an information that ſhe had, that my fleſh was to be hung up before my dore, at which ſhe ſwooned away twice that morning: I ſeeing her in ſo ſorrowful a plight, did go with her to the Officer, and privately told him the circumſtances I was under, and offered him a fee to take me into his liſt, which he refuſed, but told me that when he called a man that did not anſwer, I might anſwer to his name and ſtep in. To deny my name, I was cautious of, and ſtood by while many

others under my circumſtance went in, for I judge there was near 30 men ſaved by ſo doing. I ſeeing the liſt full went away; but ſuch was the wonderful providence of *God*, there ſtood a poor woman of *Charde*, a ſtranger to me, who obſerved one of the company unwilling to be tranſported, came after me and pulling me to the man, he haſtily ſhifted himſelf out of the ſtring and put me in his place, and told me if I was called, his name was *Jo Haker:* Thus *the* Lord *ſent from above; he took me, he drew me out of many waters, he delivered me from my ſtrong enemies, and from them that hated me, for they were too ſtrong for me.* The firſt night we lay at *Shepton Mallet*, the next day going to *Caſtellarye* the Sheriff's men overtook us and ſeized one Mr. *Shephard* for execution. The next night we lay at *Sherborn*, where I was known by many, particu-

larly the conſtable, who, being an adverſary to our cauſe, demanded of the officer that was our convoy, whether my name was on his liſt: no other anſwer would ſatisfie him but he would ſee it, for he ſaid I ought not to be there. Having ſeen the liſt he went away, but by the good providence of *God* I heard no more of him: But doubtleſs the ſame hand that ſhut up the mouths of the Lions from devouring *Daniel*, ſhut up his mouth and reſtrained him from doing me the intended hurt: though I lay in the town two nights, contrary to my expectation and beyond hope I was delivered thence, and ſetting forward for *Weymouth* was known by ſeveral on the roade, notwithſtanding went ſafe to *Weymouth*, where I lay one night. Next morning I went aboard the ſhip for *Jamaica*, and took my leave of my native

country with much courage and chearfulneſs.

The next day being ſabbath day, our ſhip-maſter being aſhore, the ſheriff's men came aboard our ſhip and took one of our men, and diſcourſed of me alſo; on which our Ship-maſter, though a bad man, fearing he ſhould loſe his Paſſengers, ordered to weigh anchor, and hoiſe ſail immediately, which was done. So that by the hand of my *God* I was delivered *as a bird out of the ſnare of the fowlers, the ſnare was broken and I eſcaped:* for the next day they came to *Weymouth* hunting for me, but my *God* had mercy on me, and delivered me from the wrath of man whoſe tender mercies are cruelty.

O wonderful providence of *God*, wherein all the attributes of *God* were concerned for a poor worm who is no way profitable. I was wounded, but

Mercy healed; I was caſt down, but Mercy took me up; I was in priſon, but Mercy delivered me; I ſtood before the bloody Popiſh Judge, the mercileſs monſter *Jefferies*, but *God* in mercy was with me and held me up; faithful was he that promiſed that he would never leave nor forſake me; I was caſt in the ſnare and left for dead by men, but Mercy lengthened out my life.

I was bound with cords, but Mercy cut them aſunder; my enemies were the chief, they were mighty, but the *Almighty* drew me out of their hands: Free grace, love, mercy, faithfulneſs, wiſdom, and power ſet all theſe wheels of providence on worke for the deliverance of ſuch an unworthy creature. O the love and grace and mercy of *God*, 'tis higher than the heavens, 'tis broader than the ſea, 'tis unmeaſurable. Let the world know 'tis not in vain to ſerve

the *Lord*, for he *is a ſun and ſhield*, and *no good thing will he with-hold from them that walk uprightly*.

I ſhall conclude this firſt chapter with that which I have verified, 124 Pſal. *If it had not been the* Lord *who was on my ſide, when men roſe up againſt me, then they had ſwallowed me up quick: when their wrath was kindled againſt me, then the waters had overwhelmed me, the ſtream had gone over my ſoul; then the proud waters had gone over my ſoul. Bleſſed be the* Lord *who hath not given me as a prey to their teeth: my ſoul is eſcaped as a bird out of the ſnare of the fowler, the ſnare is broken and I am eſcaped. Our help is in the name of the* Lord *who made heaven and earth.*

Chapter II.

THIS ſecond Chapter calls to remembrance my voyage toward *Jamaica*.

Oct. 17, 1685, I went a ſhip-board and lay at anchor till the next day evening; then I pretty comfortably and contentedly left my native country, wife, children, relations, and eſtate, committing them and myſelf to the protection and good providence of our *God*. At which time my weakneſs was ſuch by reaſon of my wounds, loſs of blood, fever, and long impriſonment that I had ſo lately paſſed through, that I had no hopes in myſelf ever to arrive to the appointed haven; but was content

to wait on the providence of my *God;* and was glad that I had eſcaped ſo great a death, being yet in the hands of a bitter enemy. The maſter of the ſhip ſhut 99 of us under deck in a very ſmall room where we could not lay ourſelves down without lying one upon another. The hatchway being guarded with a continual watch with blunderbuſſes and hangers, we were not ſuffered to go above deck for air or eaſement, but a veſſel was ſet in the midſt to receive the excrement, by which means the ſhip was ſoon infected with grievous and contagious diſeaſes, as, the ſmall pox, fever, calenture, and the plague, with frightful botches. Of each of theſe diſeaſes ſeveral died, for we loſt of our company 22 men, and of the ſailers and free paſſengers I know not how many, beſides the maſter's mate and Eſquire *Linch.* This was the ſtraiteſt

priſon that ever I was in, full of crying and dying, from whence there was no flying, and thus againe I was let down into the valley of the ſhadow of death, yet the *Lord* was my life, my comfort, my hope, my ſtay, my ſtrength; his rod and his ſtaff comforted me: for though we could not look out for help, yet we could look up for help: This poor man cryed unto the *Lord* and the *Lord* heard, had mercy, and delivered me. Though we were ſhut down in the dark as in a dungeon, yet we did pray, and ſing praiſes to our *God*, and he was a light round about us: objects of pity we were, and arguments from miſery to mercy; we had enough in the day to behold the miſerable ſight of botches, pox, others devoured with lice till they were almoſt at death's dore. In the night fearful cries and groning of ſick and diſtracted perſons, which

could not reſt, but lay tumbling over the reſt, and diſtracting the whole company, which added much to our trouble; but in this mount of ſtraits *God* was ſeen. O! how comfortable 'tis to remember what ſweet effects our conſtant prayer and praiſing our *God* had, in this our miſerable condition: we had not only the ear of *God*, but many in the ſhip alſo, who being much affected interceded for us to be let up above deck, and that the well might be parted from the ſick; which was done: and a great mercy it was, otherwiſe few or none of us could in an ordinary ſenſe have eſcaped: and this we eſteemed as a great inlargement, and were now induced by mercy to ſeek unto *God*, to read his word, and ſing his praiſe, with chearfulneſs and comfort; in ſo much that the vileſt of our enemies could ſay no worſe but that they believed the man

was an hypocrite; others of a better mind would draw near and join with us in the evening, when they might, and not be ſeen: for the maſter was a declared enemy to our praying, if not to all other. They would alſo beſtow upon us ſome part of their proviſion in ſecret, to help ſatisfie our hunger, which was another of our miſeries, for the wicked wretch would not allow us proviſion, though there was enough in the ſhip and to ſpare. Some days we had not enough in five men's meſs to ſuffice one man for one meal, which muſt ſerve 5 men a whole day except a little biſket. Our water alſo was exceeding corrupt and ſtinking, and alſo very ſcarce to be had.

Our want of water was a great affliction eſpecially after we came into the hot weather; although there was ſmall beer enough for our voyage in the ſhip,

we could not have it till we came in ſight of land, after which, a little was ſpent, and the reſt caſt away; which might have made our voyage comfortable in this reſpect: and thus we were tyrannized over and abuſed by that wicked wretch *Edw. Brookes*, maſter of the ſhip; who in this reſpect and ſeveral other ways helped forward our affliction, and embittered our condition: yet, nevertheleſs, this wicked wretch was forced by reaſon of the great ſickneſs and mortality amongſt the ſhip's crew, he was forced to ſtoop ſo low to us as to beg us for the *Lord's* ſake, to help him in a caſe of great danger, of loſing the ſhip by breaking the main ſtay, and at ſeveral other times, in order to the carrying the ſhip to the port, which we did with all readineſs according to our ability: but when the danger was over, his heart was quickly

hardned againſt us, and ſo remained to the laſt; but he ſoone found the marks of *God's* diſpleaſure, for he never proſpered after; upon our information againſt him at *Port Royal*, the merchants would not frait his ſhip home, which forced him to lie a long time at a Spaniſh bay cutting logwood for his frait; and when he came almoſt home on the *Iriſh* Coaſt he knocked his ſhip in head on the ſhore, and returning home found his wife dead, who left him a family of ſmall children, his imployment loſt, and he ruined. This was a general report of him, ſo that we may ſay, Verily there is a *God* that ruleth in the earth, and rendereth a reward to the wicked, *his curſing us came down upon his own head, and his violent dealing upon his own pate.*

But in the midſt of miſery I muſt remember mercy, the mercy in general

to us all was, we had ſpeedy and pleaſant paſſage, for wind and ſea favoured us; not a ſtorm through all our paſſage; not becalmed, except about 24 hours under the Tropick of *Cancer;* not an enemy moleſted us; which cut our days of affliction much ſhorter than was expected, and a great mercy it was, conſidering our miſery and want.

But the ſignal favours to me were exceeding great, for having lain about 5 weeks in great weakneſs and languiſhing, by reaſon of wounds, loſs of blood, and other ſickneſs; when I went on ſhip board I was exceeding weak, and had taken a freſh cold, which for a little while continued, but it pleaſed the *Lord* to recover me to health and ſoundneſs: as to the freſh wounds which I carried aboard, they healed without the uſe of means, mercy never to be forgotten. I was wounded, but the *Lord* healed me;

I was weak, but the *Lord* ſtrengthened me; when young men and ſtrong men were taken down, I was raiſed up; and do yet live in his ſight, though many were taken off by death. And I may ſay with wonder and aſtoniſhment, that the gracious *God* hath made good his promiſe to a leſs and more vile and far more contemptible worm than *Jacob; when thou paſſeſt through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they ſhall not overflow thee; when thou walkeſt through the fire, thou ſhalt not be burnt;* my *God* hath by wiſdom and power delivered me from a cruel and ſhameful death, from hanging and burning. In the fiery trial I was not burnt; in the water, the great and vaſt ocean, I was not drowned; but after a voyage of 6 weeks and 3 dayes, I arrived to *Jamaica*, 24 *November* 1685, and after one night's riding in the

harbour, we were put on ſhore at *Port Royal;* and then received another great mercy and deliverance from the danger of the ſea, and the cloſeſt priſon that ever I was in, and one of the bittereſt of enemies, *Ed. Brookes* maſter of the ſhip.

Chapter III.

THIS third Chapter calls to remembrance the wonderful and gracious providences of *God* to me while in *Jamaica;* which was, As ſoon as we came into the town the people took pity on us when they ſaw us almoſt ſtarved; and ran and provided what they could get ready ſooneſt: biſket and butter, and freſh fiſh fried, and freſh water, which was rich proviſion for ſuch poor miſcreants. The ſick being ſeparated from us, we were put together in a ſtable, where we were conſtrained to lodge on the boards for 10 days ſpace; but had liberty to walk out in the town in the day time, which

was a comfortable inlargement, and great refreſhment to us in our affliction: ſo that now our hearts were inlarged to ſing and give praiſe, to pray and give thanks to our *God*, for a multitude of mercies which we were not aſhamed to acknowledge, before the great companies that reſorted to our morning and eſpecially our evening Prayer: who ſignified their great affection towards me, in beſtowing on me much alms in ſecret, in the night time, for our evening prayer. (After reading a chapter and ſinging a Pſalm, was without light.) So that now I had favour in the ſight of many; and *the bread caſt on the waters was found after many daies*, with much increaſe, and in a time of need was a ſufficient ſupply; for I went pennyleſs into the Iſland, but was now honoured with many favours, and had a mixture of mercy always to ſweeten the bitter pills

of affliction. As ſoon as we arrived to Land one Mr. *Robert Speere*, a Non-Conforming Miniſter, acquainted himſelf with us, and was a great comfort to us in adviſing, directing, and comforting of us; he acquainted me that Mr. *Chriſtopher Hicks*, a Merchant to whom we were conſigned to be ſold, was a very conſcionable man, a good Chriſtian; but did refuſe to ſell us, for this reaſon, becauſe he thought us better Chriſtians than himſelf. But nevertheleſs he made ſupply to our neceſſities, and ſent to us a Phyſitian, and ſome to waſh our clothes and cleanſe us from vermin, and the like; and after many debates by the Miniſter and his wife, that ſince it muſt be done by ſome one or other, he might be an inſtrument of doing us much good by getting us good places. At length he conſented, and came among us, but was far from inſulting over us: and

howſoever he knew me, he called me unto him, and with abundance of pity and compaſſion, he told me he had appointed me a place to ſerve one Colonel *Bach*, which was the beſt place he could think of in the Iland. He told me that my Maſter was a man that feared *God*, and was very good to his Servants; this was another mercy and unexpected favour in a ſtrange land, and under my circumſtance; and both this Mr. *Hicks* the Seller, and Mr. *Wm. Hutchinſon* the Buyer, (for he was my Maſter, attourney in truſt with the plantation in his abſence); both told me that they intended I ſhould be free as ſoon as I could get money to diſcharge what was laid out on me; which was a great comfort in my preſent affliction; and to this end ſet but 12*l.* purchaſe money upon me, whereas I was told 30*l.* was offered for me: but to follow the law of the

country, I muſt return with the reſt of my fellow captives to the ſhip in which I came thither, and at the fire of a gun out of the ſame ſhip, the Market begins: but a man being appointed to give me a ſigne with his hand, I was ordered to depart the ſhip again, to prevent further inquiry about me, and offers for my ſervice. And now being under a new Circumſtance, was ſent to an ordinary for ſome time, to recover ſtrength, before I was ſent to my Service. But freſh proviſion made ſuch a ſudden alteration that I was ſorely afflicted with the flux, inſomuch that after about a month's continuance, and much means being uſed, my Doctor left me for a dead man, my Maſter ſold the clothes which he had made for me, and all hope of life was paſt.

But it pleaſed the *Lord* again to ſhew his power, love, mercy, goodneſs, and

truth, in my weak, low, deſtitute condition: When friends failed, phyſitian failed, hopes failed, yet he failed me not; but to the admiration of all about me I was raiſed up, and made again a monument of his mercy, and made a wonder to myſelf for what end I ſhould be preſerved through ſo many dangers and viſible deaths.

The diſeaſe having left me, I ſoon got ſtrength, and was ſent to my ſervice, about forty miles from *Port Royal*, by water; when I was landed, I had about 5 miles to go by land to the Plantation; while I was muſing, diſconſolate under this new circumſtance, the *Lord* was pleaſed to raiſe up new and unexpected Friends to comfort and ſupport me, for Colonel *Lyne* and Lieutenant *Garbrand* came to meet me, and welcomed me very kindly into their country, and diſcourſing very freely and comfortably to

me, aſſuring me of their kindneſs and readineſs to adviſe in my undertaking: invited me to their houſes with much earneſtneſs and deſire of farther acquaintance with me; and that I would not be ſhy but free with them, notwithſtanding the diſtance between us. In this caſe and place this was a great mercy that I found ſuch favour in a ſtrange land, as conſiſted not in empty words, but many real favours, and continued kindneſſes throughout my whole time with them: So earneſt were they of acquaintance with me, that before a week to an end, Colonel *Lyne* ſent me a preſent of cheeſe and butter, no leſs worth than ten ſhillings, with another invitation to his houſe: next day, waiting on him, was exceeding kindly entertained by the Colonel. Mr. *Garbrand* alſo ſent for me to his houſe, and kindly entertained me, and deſired me

to be free with him, and that there might be no ſtrangeneſs, but Chriſtian conference, and mutual love, and affections between us, and that we might be helpful one to another in reſpect of the good of our ſouls; telling me they wanted help in thoſe dark parts of the world; and I aſſured him that according to my ſmall abilities I ſhould moſt readily ſerve him, keeping within the bounds of my duty and calling. And not only theſe, but indeed all the reſt of the neighbourhood were very kind and courteous to me.

And for the moſt part, though the country were very hot, yet I had my health indifferently well.

Amongſt the reſt of our temporal mercies, beſides friends and health, the good and gracious *God*, which provideth for all his creatures in all places of the Earth proper food to maintain and ſuſ-

tain them in life, provided for me food convenient, and far beyond my expectation; (for the rude ſeamen, in their reproaching and maligning of us, would threaten to carry us beyond bread and drink, which was ſomewhat a ſad reflection; but they were miſtaken, for they could not carry me beyond the bountiful hand of my *God.*) Though it was not my native food, yet it was natural, ſweet, pleaſant, ſtrengthening, and healthful food; and by the bleſſing of *God* had the ſame uſe and effect on us for which food is ordained; ſo that I was but emptied into a new veſſel, and it was but an exchange; Old friends for new friends, old bread for new bread, and an old habitation for a new; ſtill fed and clothed, and upheld by the ſame hand of Providence: As *God's* Enemies are never out of his reach, though they fly to the utmoſt parts of the earth, ſo

his Servants are never out of his care, forgotten or neglected by him, though they may be removed far from their border: ſo that he that might have been free amongſt the dead, is yet a ſervant amongſt the living, and has ſtill cauſe to praiſe the *Lord* whoſe *ways are ways of pleaſantneſs, and all his paths are peace:* who is ſtill good to them that fear him, to the ſoul that waiteth for him; ſo that no time, though it be perilous, no caſe, though it be dangerous, no place, though it be diſtant, no circumſtance, though it be dark, no enemies, though they be cruel, can deprive a ſoul of his help, hope, comfort, joy, and peace in his *God.* The unworthieſt of his Servants can ſet to his ſeale, and teſtify this to the glory of his Grace. For I was in peril by enemies, in perils by war, in perils in my own country, in perils by ſea, in wounds and

weakneſs, in poverty and ſcarcity, my caſe was difficult and dangerous, I was removed far from my border, I was under very dark circumſtances, I was in the hands of cruel enemies; but the *Lord* hath given me peace for perils, he hath given me ſoundneſs for wounds, health and ſtrength for weakneſs, plenty for poverty and want; the *Lord* hath given me ſafety from danger, the *Lord* hath given me liberty for reſtraint and impriſonment, light for darkneſs, hath put me into the hands of friends, inſtead of enemies; all this and much more was the product of free grace, and rich bounty to an unworthy creature; who hath now ſet me free from fear, and brought me into a wealthy place (as to externals), and hath caſt me into pitiful, merciful hands, for my Maſter conſidered my loſſes in *England*, and told me he would put me in a way to begin

the world; and accordingly he did give me ſome ſtock, and allowed me to keep it and the produce on the plantation; which brought me at length pretty much advantage: many other friends and advantages I had, to recover my loſs as to temporals.

But as to ſpirituals, I was caſt into a remote and dark place, a barren wilderneſs, where was no water, no ordinances to be injoyed in publick; which, for a time, was a very great trouble to me. Many thoughts did ariſe how I ſhould do to keep a little ſpark of love to, and zeal for *God*, alive; how I ſhould live without the bread of life, and milk of the word; and this was now my greateſt trouble, it ſtuck cloſe now to conſider that I had ſinned away the Goſpel, and ſuch glorious Goſpel advantages; and was conſtrained to dwell in *Meſhech*, and to inhabit the tents of *Kedar*, where

was none but 6 ſervants ; of which my place was not the loweſt : ſo I thought it my duty to call them to Prayer, morning and evening, in the family ; to which they for a while did conform : but the Sabbath which had been my delight, wherein I was wont to injoy ſweet communion with *God*, now was imployed in needleſs Viſits, and tatling, and drinking ; or at leaſt things very impertinent and unſavoury for the time, which it ſeems had been the cuſtom of the houſe, and was a grief to me : but loth to give occaſion to neighbours, and the reſt of the family, rigidly to forbid the ill cuſtoms in profaning the *Lord's* Day in this manner ; but to prevent it, ſpent the time in reading and diſcourſe unſuitable to them : By this means we purged ourſelves by degrees from their company ; and had brought the family into better order and manners ; ſo that we

ſpent the day in private prayer, and reading the Scriptures; noting ſome plain practical things for our preſent edification from them. Such as would ſtay for a dinner with us, muſt either ſtay below by themſelves, or join with us above. This family order was the better effected, becauſe there were 3 of us fellow ſufferers which had the charge and command of the plantation within dore and without, and this order continued for ſome weeks: but my dear friend Mr. *Garbrand* preſſed me to a more publick exerciſe, and deſired that we, with the reſt of our neighbours, would meet and ſpend the *Lord's* Day at his houſe; at which I was averſe, and made ſeveral objections: beſides my inſufficiency, I thought it unwarrantable for me: Arguments were uſed by him in caſe of ſuch neceſſity, that it was my duty to uſe my talents, and to commu-

nicate to others; in caſe of ſuch neceſſity, and want of publick ordinances; ſetting before me the example of Colonel *Bach*, his publick exerciſe at *Port Royal* for many years with good ſucceſs; and though ſome things might not be lawful nor expedient in ſome places and cauſes, yet, in caſe of neceſſity, were both lawful and expedient, quoting that of *David's* eating ſhew-bread. Notwithſtanding all this, and much more, to preſs me forward, my reflections on my own inſufficiency was an objection. The anſwer was, that *God* would not deſpiſe the day of ſmall things; and if there were firſt a willing mind, *God* would require no more of us than he had given.

My want of helps, having no other book but my *Bible* fit for ſuch an undertaking, not ſo much as a Concordance, was ſtill matter of objection; and

for a week or two prevailed: and ſtill lamenting the loſs of Goſpel injoyments, at length, conſidering the great mercy of *God* in caſting my lot amongſt ſome that had good deſires and inclinations, together with mine own neceſſity, began to think of feeding on ſhewbread rather than ſtarve: it pleaſed the *Lord* to bring to my remembrance a ſubject I had heard many years before from old Mr. *Aſhod*, on the 11th of *Acts*, 23, *Who, when he came, and had ſeen the Grace of* God, *was glad, and exhorted them all, that with purpoſe of heart they would cleave unto the* Lord. The diſciples upon the perſecution were ſcattered abroad as far as *Phenice*, and *Cyprus*, and *Antioch*, which, when they came to *Antioch*, preached the *Lord Jeſus*. And a great number believed; which, *Barnabas*, when he came and had ſeen, was glad, &c. Obſerved that

God by ſimple men, in ſpite of tyranny, cruelty, and perſecution, repleniſhed the world with the ſounds of the Goſpel; for the moſt part of them that preached the Goſpel, they were poor, weak, and deſpiſed, in the world; but he that called them, made them fit for it, by giving them his Holy Spirit. We hence noted alſo what good and gracious ends *God* ſometimes hath in ſuffering his people to be perſecuted. Upon the perſecution, after our *Lord Jeſus* was put to death, the diſciples were ſcattered abroad, eſpecially about *Cyrene*, and made known the *Lord Jeſus Chriſt* to many and far countries. The Gifts and Grace of *God* in them could not lie hid; but they preached *Chriſt* wherever they came, [8 *Acts*, beginning.] Note alſo that the *Lord* can bring great good out of the greateſt evil, and kindle the light of the Goſpel out of the darkneſs of perſecu-

tion; hence we noted what great care the Apoſtles and Servants of *God* took to build and preſerve the Church even in far countries. *Barnabas* was ſent from *Jeruſalem* to *Antioch;* and, to confirm them in the faith and doctrine of *Chriſt*, he goes to *Tarſus* to ſeek *Paul;* and *Paul* and *Barnabas* for a whole year aſſembled themſelves with the people, and taught much people. But the words of *Barnabas*, when he firſt came to *Antioch*, and had ſeen the grace of *God* beſtowed on them, through the preaching of the perſecuted, ſcattered, baniſhed diſciples of *Chriſt*, was glad, and exhorted them all with full purpoſe of heart to cleave unto the *Lord*. Whence we ſee a Church planted, watered, and grew in a far Country and deſert place; a great work of the great *God:* The Inſtruments were the Diſciples and Apoſtles of *Chriſt*. In the

words *Barnabas* is come to *Antioch:* how he was affected when he had ſeen the grace of *God* in them; he was glad; from hence this obſervation that the Goſpel, and grace of *God*, ſown in the heart and diſcovered in the Life, is great ground of joy and gladneſs.

2. His exhortation to this Church, that with full purpoſe of heart they would cleave unto the *Lord*. We noted that after perſons or places have received the Goſpel and grace of *God*, 'tis their duty with full *purpoſe of heart to cleave unto the* Lord Jeſus Chriſt; to get more, and farther degrees of Grace: or this, that full purpoſe of heart, and ſtrong reſolutions of perſevering in Chriſtianity, is every true Chriſtian's duty, from the laſt words, *Cleave unto the* Lord: that union with the *Lord Jeſus Chriſt* is of abſolute neceſſity: if we are not ingrafted into him, we can draw no ſap

of grace, and ſaving virtue from him; and ſo in time ſhall fall away, and be cut off, as unfruitful branches, and caſt into the fire.

We conſidered this notion, the grace of *God*, in a double ſenſe:

1. The grace of *God* in ſending them the Goſpel called *the word of his grace*, [Acts 20. 32] *which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are ſanctified:* and this word of grace, the great and main effects of his grace, the *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, and the promiſe of life, and ſalvation upon the terms of true repentance, and faith unfained, &c. [14 *Acts*, 3 verſe.]

2. The grace of *God*, whereby a perſon is enabled actually to believe; to receive the word of his grace; to imbrace *Jeſus Chriſt* as he is tendered; and to ſubmit to his Law, and yield obedience to him; to put himſelf under

his government: this is called inherent grace. We gave this diſcription: The grace of *God* is a principle wrought in the heart of a man by the Word and Spirit of *God;* wherby there is a univerſal change in the whole man, and he is turned from ſin, and *Satan* to the living *God;* from darkneſs to light, from dumb Idols to ſerve the living *God.* The ordinary means of conveying this grace into the heart, is the Word of *God* faithfully preached; and when 'tis received aright, 'tis compared to ſeed ſown in good ground. The good ground is a good and honeſt heart, and bringeth forth much fruit; [*Matth.* 13. 8 and 23] *but he that receiveth ſeed into the good ground, is he that heareth the word and underſtandeth it, which alſo beareth fruit, and bringeth forth ſome a hundred fold,* &c. 'tis compared alſo to leaven hid in 3 meaſures of meal, till all be leavened

[*Matth.* 13. 33]: 'tis of a ſpreading and growing nature. Now this ſpring of grace doth proceed from *God*, the Fountain of all Grace; from *Chriſt*, the Procurer of all grace; from the Spirit of *God*, the Worker of all grace; now, that it might be matter of joy and gladneſs, we deſcended to ſhew the helpleſs, hopeleſs eſtate we were in by nature, in our blood; without help in our ſelves; under the curſe of *God;* in a ſtate of death and darkneſs; liable to the wrath of *God*, and torments of hell, every moment: now the grace of *God* ſaves and delivers from all this miſery, and ſo is a great ground of joy and rejoicing. The grace of *God* is a principle of life in the ſoul, in oppoſition to the ſtate of death. *Ye who were dead in treſpaſs, hath he quickned.*

We conſidered the grace of the Goſpel in itſelf was glad tidings of great

joy wherever it came to all people [2 *Luke*, 10, 11]: but when the Goſpel is received, and the *Lord Jeſus Chriſt* aright imbraced, this is matter of great joy and gladneſs, and that to angels and men. *Behold, we bring you this day glad tidings of great joy, which ſhall be to all people. For to you is born this day in the city of* David *a Saviour, which is* Chriſt *the* Lord. *And ſodainly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly Hoſt praiſing* God, *and ſaying, Glory to* God *in the higheſt, and on earth peace, good will towards men.* What matter of joy is here? If this was matter of joy and gladneſs to the Angels and Heavenly Hoſt, what cauſe have we, that are made partakers of the benefits and priviledges of the Goſpel and grace of *God*, to rejoyce and be glad. This grace of *God* did more plainly appear to be matter of joy and gladneſs,

by conſidering what evils it delivered from, and what a bleſſed ſtate it exalteth to.

1. It freeth us from the curſe of *God*, due to us for ſin; from which we could not eſcape but by the grace of *God*. While we were under the Law we were under the curſe; but the *Lord Jeſus Chriſt* was made a curſe for us.

2. Such as have obtained this grace of *God* are delivered from the reigning power and dominion of *Satan*, and in ſome meaſure from his powerful temptations.

3. By grace we are delivered from our own natural corruptions: *Sin ſhall not have dominion over you, for ye are not under the law, but under grace:* in ſhort, by this grace of *God*, we are made conquerors of all our ſouls' enemies.

4. This grace of *God* delivers us from the guilt of ſin in our conſciences. How

terrible this was in *Cain* and *Judas* and *Sapphira*, and in every awakened conſcience, when the deſert of ſin, and the wrath of *God* falls upon it: 'tis by Grace that the heart is ſprinkled from an evil conſcience. In ſhort, *by grace we are ſaved* from all evil, from curſe, wrath, death, hell, all the evils of this life, that tend to our deſtruction, and the life to come. And by Grace 'tis that we are made partakers of all the priviledges of this life, and that which is to come.

1. Such as have this grace of *God* ſown in the heart, and diſcerned in the life, have peace with *God*, and reconciliation through *Jeſus Chriſt*. The enemy is ſlain through the blood of his Croſs, by him to reconcile all to himſelf [5 *Rom.* 1, 2 ver.] *Being juſtified by faith, we have peace with* God *through* Jeſus Chriſt. And ye that were ſom-

times enemies in your minds, by wicked works, yet now hath he reconciled by the blood of his Croſs: this is matter of great joy and gladneſs.

2. By this Grace we have acceſs with boldneſs to the throne of Grace: [*Heb.* 4. 16. *Eph.* 3. 12] *in whom we have boldneſs and acceſs with confidence by the faith of him.*

3. Such as have this grace are not only admitted into the Church of *Chriſt* on earth, but are taken into the family of *God*, and into a near relation to the *Lord Jeſus Chriſt:* they are called the Children of *God*, and the Children of the Higheſt; the Sons of *God.* [1 Ep. *John*, 3. 1.—3 *Gal.* 26.] *For we are all the children of* God *by faith in* Chriſt Jeſus. *Chriſt* is the huſband, the Church is the married wife. [5 *Canticles*, 1.] *He is not aſhamed to call ſuch brethren.* [2 *Heb.* 11.] Not only a ſervant, but a

ſon, and an heir, the members of *Chriſt*. [4 *Gal.* 7.] Now to be of the Family of *God*, and houſehold of faith, in ſo near relations to *God* and the *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, is matter of great joy and gladneſs. Here is not only great priviledge, but great honour and dignity, which is matter of great joy and gladneſs.

4. They that have this Grace ſown in the heart and diſcovered in the life, have not only a relation to *God* and *Chriſt*, but alſo a title to Heaven and Glory. [4 *Gal.* 7] *Wherfore thou art no more a ſervant, but a ſon; and if a ſon, then an Heir of* God *through* Chriſt. Such are ſaid to be begotten again *to an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, that fadeth not away; but is reſerved in Heaven for you.* [1 *Pet.* 1. 3, 4.] 'Tis the ſame glory which our *Lord Jeſus Chriſt* doth now ſhine in. [17 *John*, 22] *The glory which thou gaveſt me I have*

given them, that they may be one as we are one. [24 ver.] *Father, I will that they which thou haſt given me may be where I am, that they may behold my glory which thou haſt given me.* If we have the Grace of *God* in poſſeſſion, then we have the glory of *God* in heaven in reverſion. Grace in our hearts is glory begun; and grace finiſhed is glory completed. What ground of joy and rejoycing is here! Again we conſidered that this ſtate of grace is a ſure ſtate, ſo that none that hath it can fall totally and finally from it. Though they may fall foully, yet they cannot fall finally. *David* and *Peter* and many other examples, we have to this purpoſe. The ſalvation of ſuch is founded upon *God's* Covenant, though we may break on our part, yet 'tis firm on *God's* part: ſuch as have the grace of *God* are led by it to repentance.

The foundation of God *ſtandeth ſure, having this ſeal, The* Lord *knoweth who are his:* ſuch have for their ſecurity the word and covenant of an immutable *God*, and *Jeſus Chriſt* will loſe none that are given to him. [10 *John*, 28] *None ſhall pluck them out of my hand: I give unto them eternal life and they ſhall never periſh.* Oh then what great ground of joy and rejoycing is here! for ſuch as have grace in truth, their ſtate is ſure: they *are kept by the power of* God *through faith to ſalvation.* [1 *Pet.* 1. 5.] The ſalvation of ſuch is locked up in the eternal and unchangeable purpoſe of an immutable *God;* and he hath, as it were, delivered to them the keys, which are faith, and repentance: and ſo their ſoul is ſure and ſafe. And now you ſee what great ground of joy and gladneſs ſuch have. We added one thing more, that was the promiſe of *God's* Spirit

while we are in this world, to help our infirmities, to make interceſſion in us, to enable us to pray, and perform all thoſe duties which *God* requires of us, and to avoid enemies and evils. And this was matter of great joy and gladneſs.

For application: 1. Inference was to ſhew us where to ſeek this grace that delivers us from ſo many miſeries, and advanceth to ſo great happineſs. This informs us that this grace is originally and vertually in *God*, and not to be had any where elſe; and we are not to ſeek it from men nor angels, any farther than *God* will uſe them as inſtruments to convey his grace into us. [2 *Eph.* 8] *By grace ye are ſaved, that not of your ſelves, it is the gift of God.* We that have grace are his workmanſhip, created in *Chriſt Jeſus* to good works [ver. 10]. Grace is the root, good works are the fruits;

ſo faith is ſaid to be the gift of *God*. [2 *Tim.* 1. 9.] This work of Grace is called the new creature, or new creation; which none but the power of an Almighty *God* can effect.

2. If it be the free Grace of *God* that ſaves us from all theſe miſeries, and advanceth us to ſuch great and ineſtimable priviledges, and is ſuch cauſe of joy and gladneſs; then, in the 2d place, this informs us that we have no reaſon to glory in ourſelves; but let him that rejoiceth and glorieth, glory in the *Lord:* if it be of grace, then 'tis not of works; therefore boaſting is excluded.

'Tis *God* by his grace hath made us to differ. We may glory and be glad in this that our names are written in Heaven. The Apoſtle *Paul*, notwithſtanding his abundant revelation, would not glory in this, but in his infirmities. [2 *Cor.* 12. 5, 9.]

3. Inference was, that ſuch have no reaſon to inſult over others. [11 *Rom.*] The Apoſtle largely corrects this error in the Gentiles inſulting over the Jews: he ſhews that 'tis not of works, but of grace, that they were graffed into the true vine, which were by nature wild olives [6 ver.]: he ſhows 'tis not of works, but of grace, that they ſtood. [18 ver.] *Boaſt not againſt the branches; Thou beareſt not the root, but the root thee.* He ſhows, in 20 ver. that they ſtood by grace; therefore, *be not high minded, but fear.* We have no reaſon to inſult over others that have not this grace, but to be humble and thankful that *God* hath freely beſtowed this grace on us, and paſſed by ſo many.

4. Inference was, that ſuch as have this Grace have no reaſon to greive or ſorrow; much leſs to murmur under any troubles, afflictions, poverty, or diſ-

grace that can befall them in this life. If they be called by grace, and made partakers of ſuch priviledges, and delivered from ſuch ſpiritual evils; then ſure they have no reaſon to be diſcontented at any thing they meet with in their way. If we are going to our Father's Houſe, where we ſhall have plenty of all things, as much as heart can deſire; we ſhall not take it much amiſs, if we have but coarſe entertainment by the way, ſo as to hinder us when we are going to take poſſeſſion of our inheritance. The good and gracious *God* hath ordered it to be ſo. That grace muſt be tryed, and exerciſed, by afflictions in this life; and through many tribulations we muſt enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; and that we muſt follow our Captain and bear the Croſs, if we would wear the Crown. Our bleſſed *Lord indured the croſs, and deſpiſed the*

ſhame, and is ſat down at the right hand of the throne of God. [*Heb.* 12. 2.] *He humbled himſelf to the death, even the death of the Croſs.*

Can we expect better entertainment then our *Lord.* Let us not be afraid of ſufferings, or ſtumble at the Croſs; ſince 'tis the ready way to the Crown: but exerciſe faith and patience a little while, and it will be over. Our *Lord* hath overcome, and is ſat downe &c. and hath promiſed that if we overcome, he will make us *pillars in his houſe, and we ſhall go no more out.* [3 *Rev.* 12.]

We have abundance of promiſes to overcomers: and in them abundant incouragement to go through thick and thin to indure to the end. Shall we think it much to indure a little affliction for a moment, ſo we may have *an eternal weight of Glory:* light affliction for a weight of glory; momentary afflic-

tion, but an eternal glory. What little reaſon have ſuch as have this grace, that intitles them to glory, to be diſcouraged at a little ſuffering for a little while in this world; eſpecially while our *God* hath promiſed his *grace ſhall be ſufficient for us;* And he will give ſtrength to bear, and make *a way for our eſcape.* We look in the holy martyrology which ſuffered and ſat down in glory [11 *Heb.*]: they all were inabled by grace to paſs through their great ſufferings. If all thoſe famous inſtances did ſuffer ſuch things, and through many tribulations entered into the Kingdom of Heaven, how ſhall we expect better fare in this world? All our afflictions and ſuffering, ſhould not deprive us of our ſpiritual joy and gladneſs, if we have this grace of *God.*

5. Inference was that they that have not this grace of *God* have no ground

of joy and gladneſs, but of ſorrow and mourning. 1. Becauſe they lie under the curſe of *God*, and ſentence of death, and the execution day will come without repentance, and 2. they are liable to the wrath of *God* and they are ſaid to be in a dead ſtate, dead in treſpaſſes and ſins. 3. Such as have no ſaving grace are ſaid to be blind and naked, poor and miſerable; and what cauſe have ſuch to rejoyce and be glad? 4. Such cannot pleaſe *God:* Without grace 'tis impoſſible to pleaſe *God*, nor injoy any happineſs from *God;* except the image of *God* be renewed on us in ſome meaſure, we ſhall not be accepted of him: their very prayers are abomination, their ſtate is a ſtate of enmity to *God*, and in a moſt miſerable condition. 5. Such as have no grace can have no true peace in their conſciences. *There is no peace to the wicked* ſaith my *God* [*Iſa.* 48. 22]:

Though we ſee a fair eſtate, there may be war in the ſoul, and therefore no cauſe to rejoyce. 6. Such as have no grace have no cauſe to rejoice, becauſe they are captives and priſoners, and that to their worſt enemy the Devil: He leads them captive at his will, and they obey him, and are his ſervants. This is every man's condition till *God*, by his grace, do reſcue him out of the hands of the Devil. And is it not a ſad thing to be led about by the Devil, to be at his beck and command, to fulfill all the deſires of the fleſh, and the Devil? We look on it to be a miſerable caſe to have our bodies captivated and ſold; How great then is their miſery that have ſold their ſouls and bodies to work wickedneſs, and that with greedineſs, and that to the worſt maſter in the world, and that for ever. Without this grace there will be no redemption

for ever. How little cauſe have ſuch to rejoyce.

7. Such have no cauſe to rejoyce; for whatever they injoy in this life, Death will leave them poor and miſerable; they muſt reap as they ſow, they will reap corruption. Though they may have Large Inheritances here, yet their inheritance hereafter will be no other than that of rich *Dives* in Hell, &c.

8. Laſtly, they will have no cauſe of joy, for they will not be able to ſtand before the Judge of quick and dead, with any comfort or boldneſs: having none to plead their caſe, they muſt ſtand trembling; their hearts full of fear, their conſcience full of anguiſh, and muſt be ſent from the bar of Juſtice to the priſon of Hell for to be always dying and never dead, to gnaw their tongues with pain, weep and wail and gnaſh their teeth; what cauſe then have

ſuch to rejoyce now, who ſhall in a few days be left in ſuch a plight as this?

This is the ſubſtance of two days exerciſe. Now the 2d and next uſe we made of this was, by way of examination. If the grace of *God* ſown in the heart be ſuch great ground of joy and gladneſs; and on the other hand, to be deſtitute of grace is cauſe of ſorrow and mourning; then let us examine our heart whether or no we have this grace: that ſo we may not flatter ourſelves and deceive ourſelves with falſe joy and falſe hope and falſe peace. We have already proved that this grace doth deliver from many and great evils, and advance them that have it (and none elſe) to great priviledges and happineſs. But before we can rejoice upon this account, we muſt be ſure we are brought into ſuch a ſtate. 'Tis propriety is the ground of Joy; what will it advantage us to rejoice

in other men's grace and happineſs. Although *Barnabas* (in my text) was glad when he ſaw the grace of *God* in the people at *Antioch*, yet you will grant, that a greater ground of joy to us when we know we have this grace ourſelves. The Apoſtle's rule is that I would adviſe to [6 *Gal.* 4], *But let every man prove his own work, and then ſhall he have rejoycing in himſelf, and not in another.* Now for ſome evidences of this ſtate of grace: That we may be plain and clear in it, we ſhall a little follow the metaphor, which is uſed by our *Lord* [3 *John*, 3], *Except a man be born again, he cannot ſee the Kingdom of* God. So then to have this grace is to be new born; to be made a new creature; to be converted and turned from ſin and Satan to the living *God.* Now to follow this metaphor in ſome particulars:

1. A new born child, (that is living,)

doth ſith and ſob, is ſenſible of ſome ail, that there is ſomething amiſs with him; ſo a new born *Chriſtian*, that is born by the grace and ſpirit of *God*, is ſenſible of ſomething amiſs, he ſees himſelf naked and deſtitute, ſin is a wound in his convinced conſcience: he ſees, in ſome meaſure, that miſerable condition he is in by nature. This was one trial of our ſtate, were we ever convinced of ſin.

2. As the new born child doth ſob and ſigh, ſo it doth breathe alſo; ſo the new born *Chriſtian* doth breathe, he is filled with holy longings, and deſires to be delivered from his ſinful ſtate and condition. He doth breathe after grace and holineſs; and cries out, Who ſhall deliver me from this body of death? [*Rom.* 7. 24] *O wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliver me from the body of this death?* [119 Pſal. 81] *My ſoul fainteth for thy ſalvation.* Where this

Grace of *God* is, there is a principle of life; and that ſoul doth breathe the long and earneſtly deſire more grace, and faint without farther communications of grace, and farther acquaintance with *God*. Now is it ſo with us?

3. The new born child deſires nouriſhment, it turns to the breaſt, it deſires to ſuck the breaſt: ſo here, the new born *Chriſtian* does earneſtly deſire nouriſhment, and to this end turns to the two breaſts of the two Teſtaments, the milk of *God's* word, that he may grow in grace thereby. [1 *Pet.* 2. 2 *verſe*] *As new born babes deſire the ſincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby.* This deſire puts them upon ſearching the Scriptures, ſets them a digging and a ſearching after the comfort and conſolations there to be found, for their farther growth in grace; the nature of grace is ſuch that they think they have

never enough, till they are in heaven and enjoy the *God* of all grace. Grace is little in proportion at the firſt, but is ſtill growing: 'tis compared to a grain of muſtard ſeed, but grows to a Tree: 'tis compared to leaven, but it ſpreads and runs through the whole. Now do we deſire to grow in grace? Do we value true grace above all things in this world? The more we have of grace, the more we ſhall deſire it.

4. A new born *Chriſtian* hath all his ſenſes. They hear, and ſee, and feel, and taſte, and ſmell. 1. They hear. [10 *John*, 16, 27] *My ſheep hear my voice, and they follow me.* They have a diſcerning ear. [10 *John*, 4] *And when he putteth forth his own ſheep, he goeth before them, and the ſheep follow him, for they know his voice.* [5 verſe] *And a ſtranger will they not follow, for they know not the voice of ſtrangers.* The

Church knew the voice of *Chriſt*. [2 Canticles, 8] *The voice of my beloved! behold, he cometh:* and *Job* ſaith *The ear trieth words, as the mouth taſteth meat.* [34 Job, 3 verſ.] Well, have we this ſenſe of taſting, and can we diſtinguiſh between the word of *Chriſt*, that is good and wholſome, and errors which tend to our deſtruction? Is the breaſt-milk of the word ſweet to us? yea, ſweeter than honey to our mouth, we may try by this: wicked men are like the deaf adder. 2. They ſee, they have the ſeeing eye; by faith they ſee a need of *Chriſt*, the excellency and lovelineſs of *Chriſt*, the beauty of holineſs, the glory of Heaven in ſome meaſure, and the vanity of all earthly things. By faith they ſee him that is inviſable to a ſenſual eye, [13 *Matth.* 16 ver.] *Bleſſed are your eyes for they ſee, and your ears for they hear.* Well, have we this hearing ear?

3. They feel, they feel a wound in their conſcience by ſin, they feel a prick at their hearts; [*Acts* 2. 37] *Now when they heard this, they were pricked in their hearts, and ſaid unto Peter and the reſt of the Apoſtles, Men and brethren, what ſhall we do?* 4. They have a ſpiritual taſte, [1 *Pet.* 2. 3 ver.] *If ſo be, ye have taſted that the* Lord *is gracious,* [6 Heb. 5] *and have taſted of the good word of* God, *and the powers of the world to come.* They taſte a ſweetneſs in the good word of *God,* and 'tis ſweeter than honey to them. Is it ſo with us? 5. They can ſmell; they ſmell the filthy and corrupt breath of the wicked. They ſmell a ſweet ſavour in the precious name of *Chriſt.* [Canticl. 1. 3] *Becauſe of the ſavour of thy good ointment, thy name is as ointment poured forth: Therefore do the virgins love thee.* They ſmell a ſweetneſs in the word of *Chriſt.* [4 Can-

tic. 10. 11.] Now if we can find, that we have theſe ſenſes in us, we may conclude we are made alive by grace, and are not ſtill in a dead ſtate in ſin; But may rejoice and be glad our ſtate is changed.

2. As there is life and ſenſe in a new born child, ſo there is warmth. So the new born *Chriſtian* hath warm affections to *God* and *Chriſt* to holineſs. His Religion is not lukewarm; but love and zeal doth put life and activity in him, it puts him forward in the work of the *Lord*. Grace is not a dead habit; but a principle of life in the ſoul: though at the firſt it may be but as a little ſpark, but it will by degrees increaſe into a flame.

3. This work of grace in the heart may be known by the fruits it hath in the life, *By their fruits ye ſhall know them*. They that receive the grace of

the Goſpel aright, into good and honeſt hearts, bring forth fruits ſome an hundred fold: and theſe fruits are 1. Fruits of piety toward *God*. 2nd. Charity towards men. It hath reſpect to all the commands of *God*. Firſt table, duties, 2nd table, duties. Grace will exert, and put forth, and run through our whole life and all our actions; ſo that we may diſcern it. By this alſo is our life full of piety and practical holineſs. Have we reſpect to all the commandments of *God?* Do we labour to diſcharge all our duties to *God* and man? But becauſe a hypocrite may perform theſe duties as to the external part, and yet we may be deceived: Let us examine our hearts, and try ourſelves by that infallible mark which Mr. *Baxter* lays down of ſincerity of grace.

4. Hath the intereſt of *God* and *Chriſt* the pre-eminence above all other things

in our hearts, ſo that if the world and all things therein, all the riches and honour, all the kingdoms and crowns, all the dignity of this life, were ſet before us, and offered to us; and on the other hand, *God* and *Chriſt* and Heaven, Grace and Glory; and if, on conſideration and deliberation, we can chooſe *God* and *Chriſt* and Heaven, before all the greatneſs and grandeur in this world, this is a true ſign of grace in ſincerity. If the whole world were put in one ſcale, and the intereſt of *God* and *Chriſt*, Grace and Glory, in the other; and theſe things do down weigh all in our value and eſteem; then this is a good ſign of grace, and is a great ground of joy and gladneſs. If we are able to deny ourſelves, and with *Moſes* eſteem the reproach and ſufferings of *Chriſt* greater than pleaſures and treaſures of this world, then let us rejoice in the grace of *God*. If

we can forſake father and mother, wife and children, Houſe and Land and all, rather than *God* and *Chriſt*, this is a good ſign of grace in truth. Nothing can ſeparate a truly gracious ſoul from the love of *Chriſt*, *neither height nor depth, life nor death, things preſent, nor things to come*, &c.

The next uſe was of Exhortation: 1. To ſuch as can on good grounds conclude they have this ſaving grace. 2. To thoſe that have not.

1. Such as can diſcern this grace in their hearts are exhorted to bleſs *God* who gave them this grace, and thereby delivered them from ſuch great miſeries, and granted to them ſuch great priviledges, mercies, and favours as we have in part ſhewed. O what cauſe have ſuch to be thankful! Certainly none in the world have ſuch cauſe to bleſs *God* as they. To preſs this, let us ſee the

example of the people of *God* of old, [1 *Pet.* 1. 3] *Bleſſed be the* God *and Father of our* Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *who according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us* (through grace) *to a lively hope by the reſurrection of* Jeſus Chriſt *from the dead to an Inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, that fadeth not away;* but is *reſerved in the heavens for you who are kept by the power of* God *through faith unto ſalvation.* See how largely the apoſtle *Paul* expreſſeth his thankfulneſs on this account. [1 *Epheſians*, 3, and on to the 10 ver.] *Bleſſed be the* God *and Father of our* Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *who hath bleſſed us with all ſpiritual bleſſings in heavenly places in* Chriſt Jeſus, &c. read it. [1 *Cor.* 1. 4] *I thank my* God *always on your behalf for the grace of* God *which is given you by* Jeſus Chriſt: *That in every thing ye are inriched by him*, &c. All thoſe that know the worth

of Grace, and prize it according to its worth, muſt needs be thankful to *God* the giver. O how thankful holy *David* was: [66 *Pſa.* 8] *O bleſs our* God, *ye people; make the voice of his praiſe to be heard.* [96 Pſal. 1, 2] *Sing unto the* Lord, *bleſs his name; ſhew forth his ſalvation from day to day.* Read the whole Pſal: [103 *Pſa.*] beginning, *Bleſs the* Lord, *O my ſoul: and all that is within me, bleſs his holy name*, &c. and next 3 verſes he ſhews the reaſon of all—*Who forgave all thine iniquities; who healeth all thy diſeaſes* (all ſpiritual maladies); *who redeemeth thy life from deſtruction; who crowneth thee with loving kindneſs and tender mercies.* How many times are we called upon to bleſs *God* upon this account; we have plenty of examples and precepts for this: if ever we would bleſs *God* for any thing, let us bleſs him for grace. Conſider

1. 'tis what *God* expects; he expects the glory of his grace. *God* was angry with good *Hezekiah*, becauſe he did not render according to the benefits received.

2. Unthankfulneſs eſpecially for great mercy is a great and *God*-provoking ſin: it hath much Ingratitude in it. [2 *Timothy*, 3. 2] This ſin is ranked with the worſt of ſins, *For men ſhall be lovers of themſelves, covetous, boaſters, proud, blaſphemers, diſobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy.* And ſo he goes on and reckons up 18 ſorts of moſt notorious ſins; and this ſin of Unthankfullneſs he places in the midſt.

God expects to have the glory of his grace and mercy, in beſtowing temporal things on us: *Whether ye eat, or drink, or whatſoever ye do, do all to the glory of* God: But much more for ſpiritual mercies which are far greater. 2. Such as

have this grace ſhould be exhorted to labour, to ſtrengthen and increaſe this grace more and more in themſelves; to grow in grace, and knowledge, and faith, and love, and patience, and all grace. [2 *Pet.* 3. 18] *But grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt. [*Eph.* 4. 15] *Grow up in him in all things, who is the head, even* Chriſt. [*Jude* 20] *But ye, beloved, building up yourſelves on your moſt holy faith. God* doth afford us the means of growth, and we muſt uſe them, and uſe them diligently, and conſtantly, and faithfully; we muſt be ſucking of the ſincere milk of the word, and all other appointed meanes: if we draw back, *God* will have no pleaſure in us. *God* hath appointed us our work, and duty, which if we do carefully and conſtantly follow, he will make farther ſupplies to us. I might preſs this by many arguments,

1. from the conſideration of the promiſes *God* hath made. If we hear aright, our ſouls ſhall live. If we pray, aſk, ſeek, knock, we ſhall ſpeed, and have the treaſure of grace opened to us. [2 *Pet.* 1. 4.] Thoſe that are called by grace have *exceeding great and precious promiſes* for their incouragement, and are thereby made partakers of the *divine nature;* and that the Apoſtle exhorts to perſeverance, [5 ver.] *giving all diligence, add to your faith, &c.* uſe the means, labour to grow up in grace.

2. Argument may be drawn from the benefit and advantage of it; the more grace, the more glory; the more grace, the more ſweet comfort, even in this life.

3d motive, if we labour to ſtrengthen the grace of *God* in us, this is the way to true honour, this is a high calling, a holy calling; they *who, by patient con-*

tinuance in well doing, ſeek for glory and honour, they ſhall have eternal life.

4. The more we labour to ſtrengthen this grace of *God* in ourſelves, the better we ſhall be able to reſiſt Satan's temptations. [1 *John*, 2. 13, 14] *I write unto you, young men, becauſe you have overcome the wicked one.* [14 ver.] *I write unto you, young men, becauſe ye are ſtrong, and the word of* God *abideth in you, and you have overcome the wicked one.* Strong grace is able to encounter ſtrong aſſaults, and to bear up under great temptations; but if our ſtrength be ſmall, we ſhall ſink and faint in the day of adverſity, &c. If we would grapple with ſtrong temptations, we muſt labour for ſtrong faith and other grace.

5. The more we ſtrengthen this grace in ourſelves, the better we ſhall be able to ſuffer afflictions, and beare the croſs. We all know that a weak child cannot

bear ſo great a burthen as a ſtrong man; a weak faith is a ſinking faith, but a ſtrong faith can walk upon the ſea of difficulties. [*Mat.* 12. 29] *How can one enter into a ſtrong man's houſe, and ſpoil his goods, except he firſt bind him,* &c.

6. The more we labour to ſtrengthen this grace of *God* in our ſelves, the more fit we ſhall be to perform holy duties, to ſerve *God*, and to enjoy communion with him. Without this grace of *God* in ſome good meaſure, we ſhall make but ſad work in duty. The great Apoſtle confeſſeth that it was by the grace of *God* that he was what he was; that he was fit for any ſervice in the church: [1 *Tim.* 1. 14] *And the grace of* God *was exceeding abundant with faith and love which is in* Chriſt Jeſus. And this abundant grace made him fit for his work, and duty. If we would be eminent and excellent in ſerving *God*, we

muſt get more grace. If grace be weak and languiſhing, we are dying as to our duties, and as to our comforts too. Theſe things may ſerve as ſo many motives to ſtir us up to labour all we can, to increaſe and grow in grace.

The 3d and laſt exhortation to them that have this grace of *God* in their hearts was, that they would rejoyce in it, and ſerve the *Lord* with gladneſs, and come before his preſence with joyfulneſs. [1 *Pet.* 1. 8] *Believing ye rejoyce with joy unſpeakable, and full of glory: God* loves a chearful ſerver, as well as a chearful giver, and commands us to rejoyce. [1 *Theſs.* 5. 16] *Rejoyce evermore.* Again and again he bids his people to rejoyce; to live an uncomfortable life, is to live below our high calling, which is, to be *Kings and prieſts to* God, to offer up, &c.

But my thoughts of tranſcribing any

farther would be uſeleſs to others where we have much better performances, and ſhewbread was lawful only in caſe of neceſſity: I broke off, only remembering that for my own uſe; ranging the ſubjects then treated on.

Obſerved, that after perſons or places have received the Goſpel grace, 'tis their duty *with full purpoſe of heart*, to perſevere in it, from the laſt words, *cleave unto the* Lord. Obſerved, that union with the *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, is of abſolute neceſſity. The wild vine, and crab tree, muſt be graffed before they can bring forth good fruit, &c. without union, there's no communion with *Chriſt*.

The next, [5 *Eph.* 16] *Redeeming the time, becauſe the days are evil.* Obſerved, that 'tis the duty of all profeſſing Chriſtianity, to redeem fit times for the performance of all Chriſtian duties. Another ſubject, [*Coloſs.* 4. 2] *Continue in*

prayer, and watch in the ſame with thanksgiving; which I proved was the indiſpenſable duty of every Chriſtian, by many reaſons.

April 7, 1687. [1 *Tim.* 15] *This is a faithful ſaying, and worthy of all acceptation, that* Chriſt Jeſus *came into the world to ſave ſinners.* Obſerved, that the doctrine of the Goſpel is a doctrine of moſt tranſcendent worth, and excellency; proved. 1. It's a heavenly Doctrine, it is from Heaven. 2. *Chriſt Jeſus*, and ſuch as were inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, were publiſhers of it. 3. It was confirmed by many miracles. 4. From the matter contained in it. 5. From the effects of it on the hearts of thoſe that receive it aright, which were, 1. Conviction, 2. Illumination, 3. Vivification, 4. Repentance, 5. Faith and Regeneration, 6. Juſtification, 7. Sanctification, and then the application.

Next Text, [16 *Acts*, 14] *Whoſe heart the* Lord *opened* &c. Obſerved, that *God*, by his Spirit, is the Author, and Worker, and the efficient cauſe of converſion, wherever 'tis wrought: 1. 'tis not in the power of man; 2. no leſs than the power of *God* is ſufficient to work grace in man. Though *God* by his ſpirit is the author, and efficient cauſe and worker of grace in the heart, yet he uſually doth it by means.

June 5, 1687. [From *Pſ.* 37. 34] *Wait on the* Lord, *and keep his way, and he ſhall exalt thee to inherit the land: When the wicked are cut off, thou ſhalt ſee it.* I firſt explained the terms:

1. To *waite on the* Lord, import 6 things, 1. to depend on, 2. to ſtay and look for, 3. to bring near [*Mark* 3. 9], 4. deſire to enjoy future good [*Rom.* 8. 19, 25], 5. waiting imports holy ſilence [*Job* 32], 6. earneſt deſire.

2. What's meant by keeping his way; 1. to hold faſt, 2. to remember, 3. to obſerve and hope. [119 *Pſ.* 4.]

3. What's meant by Land in this place, 1. for the place where men dwell [*Gen.* 12. 1, 7], 2. for the inhabitants of the land.

4. The whole earth, but I conceive the meaning here is, thou ſhalt have a quiet habitation in thine own land; though thou art driven out by the enemy, yet thou ſhalt return, and have a quiet habitation in thine own land. Thus [37 *Pſ.* 29] *the righteous ſhall inherit the land;* ſo [3 verſ.] *truſt in the* Lord *and do good; ſo ſhalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou ſhalt be fed.* When the wicked enemies of *God's* people are cut off, either from being a people, or from the power whereby they hurt *God's* people, I think it imports ſpeedily to be done, thou ſhalt ſee it in thy time. In

the words a double duty and a double promiſe, wait on the *Lord* with patience, hope, and faith, in the way of his Providences, and keep in the way of his Precepts. Obſerved, that patiently to wait on the *Lord* in the way of his providences, is the duty of every *Chriſtian*. From the latter part of the words, that the beſt way and ſpeedieſt courſe, for the advancement of *God's* people, and the ruin of their enemies, is to keep cloſe to *God's* ways.

Thus, with divers other ſubjects, I paſt 2 years, and then good old Mr. *Speer* aſſiſted us in the Goſpel of *Chriſt* a little while, and fell aſleep by death, and left us to proceed as before.

As to my temporals, it follows: But before one year was ended a deſign was laid to turn me from my place, in the family, as overſeer, to my former trade as a Carpenter, of which there was much

need in our Plantation and others. And to this end an overſeer was put upon the Plantation; a man he was that had not the leaſt ſavour of Religion, or the concerns of his own ſoul or others. And Rum and Punch ſoon got the aſcendant; and the yoke of family duty was too heavy for them to bear. However I kept my chamber to my ſelf, and there injoyed much peace and comfort in private meditation, and ſecret prayer when I had opportunity for it; the reſt of my time being imployed about my carpenter's Trade, ſometimes in our own Plantation, and ſometimes hired out to others. And to worke with negroes I muſt ſubmit, when the reſt of our white men had no imploy, but to lye in the Plantation, for little ſervice but to eat and drink and ſpend the time in Idleneſs. And having continued in this place and ſtation a conſiderable time, and having a

mind with one of my fellow ſufferers to go to *Port Royal* to viſit ſome friends and fellow ſufferers, preſently a Letter was ſent to our Maſter at *Port Royall*, as if we had deſerted in rebellion, at which we had a reprimand, and friends forbid to entertain us: ſo we returned home to exerciſe faith and patience under new trials.

So that I may ſay with *David* [119 Pſal. 92] *Unleſs thy law had been my delights, I had then periſhed in mine affliction.* When I have found little dependance on the favour of men in the greateſt need, I have then found the favour from *God* ſupplying all. Now [37 *Pſ.*] was ſet before me in ſuch a light as was a great ſtay and comfort, eſpecially 34 Verſ. *Wait on the* Lord *and keep his way, and he ſhall exalt thee to inherit the land; when the wicked are cut off thou ſhalt ſee it:* a double

precept enjoyned, and a double promiſe annexed. Obſerved, that to wait on the *Lord* in the way of his providences, be they never ſo harſh, and to keep in the way of his precepts patiently perſevering therein, is the duty and diſpoſition of every ſincere *Chriſtian*. From the promiſe in the latter part, obſerved, that the beſt way and ſpeedieſt courſe for the advancement of *God's* people, and the deſtruction and ruin of their enemies, is to keep cloſe to *God's* ways, in doing or ſuffering, in keeping in the way of his precepts, and our duty, and waiting patiently on him in the way of his providences; which was the ſubject of my meditation and diſcourſe many weekes; and much quieted our minds, and had much of the preſence of *God* in our Lord's day Meetings, and great ſupport under our afflictions. When we had thus paſt about two years of our ſervi-

tude, hearing that one Mr. *Crow* was come from *England* to *Port Royal*, who's highly extol'd; and their former non-conforming Miniſters were laid aſide, and diſcouraged, and neglected; and one of them, named Mr. *Bridges*, had quitted the Iland and gone to *Providence*, a little Iland at ſome diſtance from us. I went to my *Chriſtian* friend Mr. *Garbrand*, (at whoſe houſe we uſually kept our Sabbath,) and acquainted him with it, and lamented that ſuch a rich Iland would not entertain and encourage two ſuch good Miniſters, where there was ſo much need of teaching: I told him I did fear it might bring ſome judgment upon the Iland, and we concluded to ſend for Mr. *Robert Speere* from *Port Royal* up to us; which we did, and he willingly imbraced our invitation, and we both rode and met him about twenty mile of his way, and received him with

joy, and conducted him to Mr. *Garbrand's* house for his quarters: where we endeavoured to divert him from his former discouragement; and Mr. *Garbrand* concluded with me that we would write to *London* where four great men had Plantations in our neighbourhood, Mr. *Nicholas Grigson*, and Mr. *Woolmer*, owners of Mr. *Garbrand's* Plantation, Colonel *Samuel Bach*, owner of that where I was, and Captain *Hudson*, owner of another near to us, who were all of them nonconformists, who all subscribed 10*l.* each towards our Minister, maintained yearly, and ordered their several correspondents at *Port Royal* to pay him. But his spirits were so broken that he fell into a deep consumption, that nothing we could do for him would avail to restore him. He preached among us while his strength would permit; but desired my assistance in prayer, and re-

peating in the after noon, and ſo continued, about a year and half died of a conſumption.

And now, left again to proſecute and practiſe our former ſubject of waiting on the *Lord* in the way of his providences, and keeping in the way of his precepts.

And how this double duty was practiſed among us *God* only doth know; but that the promiſes annexed were in a ſhort time fulfilled, was moſt evident; and we, with many others, did ſee when our wicked Perſecutors were cut off from their tyrannical power and popiſh deſigns; ſo that in a little time, from the Cedars in our *Lebanon*, to the ſhrubs of the Valley, even all that ſtood in our way were cut off, and a way made, and an invitation ſent us to return, and to our owne land; when all the power of our enemies was vaniſhed like ſmoke, and nothing left but a ſtinking ſavour.

We muſt ſay that *'tis good that a man ſhould both hope and quietly wait for the ſalvation of the* Lord. *For the* Lord *is good unto them that wait for him, to the ſoul that ſeeketh him.* [Lamentations, 3. 25, 26.]

Nevertheleſs, we thought it not amiſs to take the firſt opportunity, and to uſe the beſt means we could to get our freedom and inlargement. When we had ſerved full four years, (the time for which we were ſold) divers of us in thoſe parts went to *Port Royal* and carried evidence to a Juſtice of Peace, that we were ſold for no longer time of ſervitude. But our ſuit was rejected, and we were ſent to our former ſervice; tho' ſome had been let go free, that were under our circumſtances, they were too bad ſervants to be kept, and we too ſerviceable to be freed.

And now the thoughts of ten years'

ſervitude being a law made particularly for us by King *James's* order, proved the death of ſome in other parts of the Iland, and to us ſeemed very hard. And now our faith, and patience, in waiting on *God* in the way of his providence, and our duty, was put to a farther trial; but it was obſerved that very night while we were at *Port Royal* a blazing comet appeared, at which there was much gazing, which continued 14 nights, and then vaniſhed, which was in November 1689.

A warning-peece of a dreadful and deſolating judgment which followed, Jan. 7, 1692, whereby 1500 perſons periſhed at *Port Royal*, and almoſt the whole town ſunk by an Earthquake; and about fifty Perſons in other places, and moſt of the Buildings in the Iland thrown down. In a Letter, from my dear friend Mr. *Harkes Garbrand*, is

thus expreſt, That on the day that the Earthquake was, the earth moved for ſome little ſpace, like the waves of a calm but rolling ſea; and afterward there was ſome ſmall Shaking every day till July 1: And in 14 and 28 of June, were 4 or 5 great earthquakes, but not like the firſt which was on June 7; and that they had a murmuring noiſe ſtill to that time, as if the earth groned. And about that time the *French*, (taking the advantage of the Earthquake,) broke into the Iland, and did much ſpoil, (eſpecially in the parts where I lived,) by deſtroying the Plantations, and carrying away the Negroes and what plunder they could get. If we may make a judgment of *God's* Diſpenſations from men's actions, we may conclude that the Sins of Profeſſors had no ſmall hand in bringing down theſe Judgments upon this place; if we conſider that *God's* anger burneth

hotteſt neareſt the Altar, and that we may read perſons' ſins by their puniſhments, then the covetous practiſes of profeſſors, not only towards their poor captivated Brethren, whoſe Sufferings were for the cauſe they profeſt to own, but their ungrateful and uncharitable dealings with two good Miniſters, who, at their requeſt and at their call, were prevailed with to leave their native Countrey, Friends and Relations, to ſerve them in the Goſpel of *Chriſt:* and, after all, at the coming of another Miniſter, (who fled from King *James's* perſecution) the two former muſt be deſpiſed, laid aſide, neglected as uſeleſs veſſels in whom they had no pleaſure: which proved very fatal to both of them. Mr. *Bridges* went to a ſmall Iland called *Providence*, where he and his Family having ſpent the ſmall ſubſtance they carried, were reduced to great ſtraits; (as I was

informed by a Sloop-Maſter, that ſpoke with him there;) that Potatoes and ſalt was their very good fare. And the other Miniſter, Mr. *Robert Speere*, after a ſhort continuance with us, went to *Port Royal* there to ſhew the effect of their unkindneſs by a ſkeleton, and leaving his bones with them. In 1686-7 the rich Town of *Port Royal* being over ſtocked with Miniſters, in 1689 their new Incumbent Miniſter left them without any one at all, but a very young man, that fled from Ireland when King *James* invaded them, for fear of a maſſacre, who had got a ſmack of the Latin tongue; him they ſet up for their Miniſter, who was far inferiour to either of thoſe whom they had made away, and yet he had got the art of a mercenary, to pleaſe his patrons, of which I with many of my ſuffering Brethren had a ſufficient proof, at the time when we were at *Port Royal*

to ſue for our Liberty. In November 1689, we heard a Lecture Sermon, calculated on purpoſe for us, though not to comfort us under our affliction and oppreſſion, but rather to aggravate our Crimes that brought us under it, and leſſening our ſufferings in regard of the foulneſs of our facts for which we ſuffered. His text was 3 *Lament.* 39 verſe: *Wherefore doth a living man complain, a man for the puniſhment of his ſins?* If this man had had the wit or grace of a *Chriſtian* Miniſter, he might have diſtinguiſhed between murmuring againſt *God*, and complaining to, and againſt the tyranny and oppreſſion of men. Who had more bitter complaints than *Jeremiah?* and the Children of *Iſrael* under their Taſk-maſters in *Egypt?* and yet was not imputed to them as ſin: which was the drift and ſcope of his diſcourſe, which tended to juſtifie our Taſk-

maſters, and harden their hearts againſt us. Whereas, if he had had wiſdom and grace, it had been more pleaſing to *God*, profitable to our Taſk-maſters, and comfortable to us under our affliction. 1. More pleaſing to *God* if he had read and could have expounded the Meſſage which he ſent by his Prophet *Obadiah:* ſhewing them their pride, cruelty, and wrong, done by *Eſau* to his brother *Jacob:* and what a curſed thing 'tis to ſeparate men from their wives and children, and to exact, and make a gain to themſelves of that labour that ſhould have relieved them; which was making widows, and devouring widows' houſes, and eating their children's bread, and building their own houſes without money. And if he had ſet before them thoſe woes denounced againſt ſuch oppreſſion as we find in *Hab.* 2. 9 to 13 ver. and that of *James* 5 at the begin-

ning, no doubt it would have been more pleaſing to *God*, and if well improved by repentance and reformation, it might have been profitable to our Taſk-maſters by preventing their deſtruction, which ſpeedily followed: and this would have been more comfortable to us, our wives and children: but they that would ſhew no mercy found as little, for the earth ſwallowed up them, and their wealth got by fraud and oppreſſion altogether.

And now having no redreſs, remedy, or hope, from Maſters, Magiſtrates, nor Miniſters, we muſt return to our ſervice loaded with greater weight.

But when I came home, our heatheniſh overſeer was removed by death, which gave a little more liberty to ſeek for comfort where it was to be found. All human hopes of freedom from our bondage being cut off, it pleaſed *God* to

direct me to a Scripture, which gave us great releif and comfort. [*Isaiah* 49. 24, 25, 26 verses.] The 24th is a negative Question carrying a strong affirmative, put by the mighty, terrible enemies, *Shall the prey be taken from the mighty, or the lawful Captive delivered?* 'tis the captivity of the Just in the margent. The answer of *God* by his Prophet is 25th: *But thus saith the* Lord, *Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken away, and the prey of the terrible shall be delivered.* Here is a gracious and positive Answer to the proud Question of the great and terrible Monarch of *Babylon*, who had the Children of *Israel* in bondage, and resolved to keep them as his prey and lawful captives, that he had taken by his mighty power, and who shall deliver them out of my hands?

Such a proud Question we find [*Exodus* 5. 2] *Who is the* Lord, *that I should*

obey his voice, to let Iſrael go? I will not let Iſrael go. Who ſhall take them out of my hands? The worm *Jacob* is not ſtrong enough to contend with me, a mighty Monarch; by whom or how ſhall he be delivered? The Anſwer is given by *God* in the latter part of 25th ver. *I will contend with him that contendeth with thee, and will ſave thy children.* Though the poor captives are in the hands, and under the power of the greateſt monarchs in the world, as *Egypt* and *Babylon;* yet, in *God's* time, he did contend with them both, to their utter ruin, and delivered his People, with a great ſalvation. If this great *God* will contend for his People's deliverance, who can contend againſt him? [*Iſ.* 10. 24, 25. *Jer.* 5. 27, 28.] The obſervation inſiſted upon was this, that tho' the enemies of *God* and his people be mighty terrible ones, yet the faithful

God hath promiſed that they ſhall be delivered out of their hands: *The Captivity of the mighty ſhall be taken away, and the prey of the terrible ſhall be delivered.*

The reaſons were of three ſorts, 1. with reſpect to *God* himſelf, 2. with reference to his People, 3. with reference to the enemies of *God* and his People. 1. With reſpect to *God* himſelf: The 1ſt, becauſe *God* is ingaged by Promiſe, They *ſhall be taken away*, they *ſhall be delivered.* There are many ſuch promiſes in the Scripture made both to the Church in general, and to particular parts; and all the promiſes in the book of *God* are written for the comfort of his People, and they belong to them, and to none elſe. [*Rom.* 9. 4.] Speaking of the true *Iſrael*, that to them did belong the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the Law,

and the ſervice of *God*, and the promiſes. And there are promiſes reſpecting all ſtates and conditions of life, that they are in or can be brought into by *Satan*, or his inſtruments; are they in the fire, I will be with thee. Read 41 *Iſaiah*, from 8 ver. to the 20th, where we have many promiſes reſpecting divers circumſtances of life. In expounding theſe promiſes we had great comfort and ſatisfaction, as alſo in *Iſ.* 51. 11, to the end. So that it is clear that *God* is ingaged by promiſe to ſave and deliver his people. 2d Reaſon was, becauſe *God* that had promiſed is faithful, he will make good his promiſes. [*Pſ.* 89. 32, 33. *Heb.* 10. 23. *Rom.* 19. 11. 1 *Titus* 2. 2 *Tim.* 2. 13.] *If we believe* or *not yet he abideth faithful, he cannot deny himſelf.* The 3rd reaſon; Becauſe *God* is able to deliver his people, therefore according to his promiſe and faithfulneſs

he will deliver his people; tho' their enemies be never ſo mighty and terrible: he is Almighty, and a moſt terrible *God*, and conſuming fire to his and his people's enemies. Who ever contended with him and proſpered? Before him all the nations of the earth are but as a drop of a bucket, or the ſmall duſt on the ballance: Before him the mountains quake, and the hills melt like wax. Of this faith were the 3 children; upon which they ſo firmly relied that they adventured the fiery furnace. [3 *Dan.* 17] *The* God *whom we ſerve, is able to deliver us, and he will deliver us out of thy hands.* 4. *God* will have his people delivered, becauſe his honour, and glorious name are concerned in it. Did not *God* appear for his people the enemies would vaunt themſelves; *Matth.* 27. 43, read from 39 to 44 ver. *Exodus* 5. 2. A God is zealous of his great

name [*Ezek.* 20. 9]; and this argument *Moſes* made uſe of to prevail with *God* for *Iſrael*, when he threatened them for their ſins. [*Num.* 14. 11, &c.] See *Joſhua*, 7. 9, *What wilt thou do unto thy great name*, &c.?

5. *God* will have his people delivered becauſe all his glorious attributes are concerned in it. 1. *God's* omnipotence, he is able to deliver, he hath a mighty arm. [*Iſ.* 50. 2, 3.] *Is my hand ſhortned at all, that I cannot redeem? or have I no power to deliver? Behold, at my rebuke I dry up the ſea.* [*Jer.* 50. 3, 34.] The Children of *Iſrael*, and the Children of *Judah* were oppreſſed together, and all that took them captives held them faſt, they refuſed to let them go. *Their Redeemer is ſtrong, the* Lord *of Hoſts is his name, he ſhall throughly plead their cauſe.* 2. As the power, ſo the wiſdom of *God* is concerned in it. He

knoweth how to deliver his people [2 *Pet.* 2. 9], and to reſerve the wicked to be puniſhed. Infinite wiſdom is never to ſeek for ways and means to ſave and deliver his people. 3. The love and pity of *God* towards his ſuffering people is ingaged to deliver them. [*Pſ.* 103. 13] *Like as a Father pitieth his Children, ſo the* Lord *pitieth them that fear him.* He hath ſo manifeſted his love to his people, as to give his only begotten Son to die for them. 4. The Juſtice of *God* is concerned for them. [2 *Theſs.* 1 chap. 6, 7, 8] *'Tis a righteous thing with* God, *to recompenſe tribulation to them that trouble you, and to you who are troubled, reſt.* 5. The mercy of *God* is concerned for his people's deliverance. See what glorious effects the mercy of *God* wrought for his people. [136 *Pſ.* from 10 ver. to the end.] All the attributes of *God* are concerned for

the deliverance of his people, and therefore he will deliver his people. 6th Reaſon, *God* will have his people delivered and ſaved, becauſe he will not fruſtrate their hope and expectation, they that truſt in the *Lord* ſhall never be aſhamed: and in *Jer.* 29. 10, They ſhall have an expected end of their captivity. [*Pſ.* 22. 5. *Iſa.* 57. 13.]

2. Some reaſons reſpecting the Church of *God.* 1. Becauſe they are his own people in a more peculiar manner than any other people in the world. He calls them a choſen generation, a royal prieſthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people. [*Exodus* 19. 5. 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. 2 *Titus*, 14. *Deu.* 26. 18.] He hath anointed them to be his people. [135 *Pſ.* 4] *The* Lord *hath choſen Jacob to himſelf*, they are a purchaſed people, bought with the price of blood: and becauſe it hath pleaſed the *Lord* to make them his people, he

will have them delivered. 2. Becauſe he will have a Church in the world while it ſtandeth, which would not be if their enemies could prevent it. The Church is built upon a rock that cannot be moved. The Gates of Hell can never prevail againſt them. [*Zech.* 12. 3] *I will make Jeruſalem a burdenſome ſtone for all people: all that burden themſelves with it ſhall be cut in peeces, though all the powers of the earth be gathered together againſt it.* The great Captain and Lord of the Church, is King of kings, and Lord of lords, Conqueror of men and devils, hath promiſed to be with them to the end of the world.

3. *God* will deliver in due time; becauſe he will not have them over driven or tempted above what they are able to bear. They ſhall not be loſt in the dark day of affliction and trouble. Read that promiſe, *Ezek.* 34. from 11th to the 17th

ver. They ſhall not be loſt. [1 *Cor.* 10. 13. *Pſ.* 125. 3] *The rod of the wicked ſhall not reſt upon the lot of the righteous.*

4. *God* will have his people ſaved and delivered from their enemies, that they may the more admire and adore the name of the *Lord*, for their deliverance, for exerting his good mercy and truth and faithfulneſs. Then they will be able to ſay, *all the ways of the* Lord *are mercy and truth*, Pſ. 25. 10, read 126 *Pſa.* and 124 *Pſa.* Their very enemies have been forced to confeſs and give glory to *God* upon this account. [*Dan.* 3. 28, 29, 30. and *Dan.* 6. from 24 to the end.]

5. *God* will deliver his people to give them experience of his power and goodneſs: that they may truſt in him for future deliverances, whatever trials they may meet with. [2 *Cor.* 1. 10.] We gave 3 reaſons with reſpect to the ene-

mies. 1. *God* will deliver his people out of their hands, that they may know themſelves to be but men. The great men of this world are apt to think they are Gods and Lords of the world. [*Pſ.* 66. 7] God *ruleth by his power for ever, his eyes behold the nations: let not the rebellious exalt themſelves.* [Pſ. 82. 6, 7, 8] *I ſaid, ye are Gods, but ye ſhall die like men, and fall like one of the princes.*

2. He will deliver his people, to let their rulers to know the world is not to be ruled by their will, and at their pleaſure: 'tis not who they will, ſhall reign over his people; not what they will, ſhall be done with them. [*Prov.* 8. 15, 16] *By me Kings reign, by me princes rule, and nobles, even all the Judges of the earth. He poureth contempt upon Princes* [Job 12. 21], putteth down, and ſetteth up Kings. [*Pſ.* 75. 7.] He reproveth Kings for their ſakes, ſaying,

Do my people no harm. [*Pſ.* 105. 13, 14. *Iſ.* 43. 3.] 3. *God* will deliver his people from under the power of their enemies, that his Juſtice may appear the more evident in their deſtruction. [2 *Theſs.* 1. 6] *Seeing it is a righteous thing with* God, *to recompenſe tribulation to them that trouble you.* [Jer. 25. 12, 13, 14. *Pſ.* 109. 16. *Pſ.* 9. 12.] *When he maketh Inquiſition for blood, he forgetteth not the cry of the humble.* [Jude, ver. 14, 15.] *God* will be juſt in recompenſing for all the hard ſpeeches and ungodly deeds done againſt him, in abuſing his people. *God* will be juſt, and make his juſtice appear, in his proceedings among men.

We ſee 'tis a reaſonable thing to believe that *God* will deliver his people: but when it may be objected, we have waited a great while for deliverance as they. 5 *Iſ.* 7, *We have looked for Judg-*

ment, but behold oppreſſion; for Righteouſneſs, but behold a cry. The anſwer was

1. He will deliver in his own ſet and appointed time. *God* doth always ſet bounds and limits to the power of his enemies; he limited the *Jewiſh* captivity in *Egypt* to 400 years, and the *Babyloniſh* to 70 years; and at the time appointed he did deliver them, tho' it was ſo unlikely to them, that when they heard of it, they were like them that dream: But as to the preciſe time, it is not fit we ſhould know, *God* will have us wait to try our faith and patience.

2. The moſt likely time of deliverance is, when their wicked enemies have filled up the meaſure of their ſins, and are ripe for ruin. The Iniquity of the *Amorites* muſt be full, before the *Jews* muſt go into *Canaan*. [*Gen.* 15. ver. 16.]

3. *God* will deliver his People when he ſees them fit for ſuch a mercy: when

God hath obtained the end for which he ſuffered them to be afflicted. *God's* rod on his People hath a voice [*Micah* 6. 9], and when they ſo hear the rod, and who hath appointed it; or wherefore it is appointed, as to be throughly humbled, and reformed, then he will hear them and treat with them as he did with his *Ephraim*, read *Jer.* 31. 18 to 21, after *Ephraim* was returned by repentance, and thorough humiliation. Then he was *a dear Son, a pleaſant child, I do erneſtly remember him ſtill, therefore my bowels are troubled for him; I will ſurely have mercy upon him, ſaith the* Lord. *Manaſſeh*, a very great ſinner, when he was in captivity, and laid in fetters for his rebellion againſt *God;* and when he was in affliction, he beſought the *Lord* his *God*, and humbled himſelf greatly before the *Lord:* he was intreated, and brought him again to *Jeruſalem* into

his Kingdom. [2 *Chron.* 33. 11, 12, 13.]

Till *God's* People under affliction do humble themſelves, repent, and reform, they are not fit for mercy and deliverance. Therefore, if we would expect deliverance, let us ſet upon this duty with all our might. Humiliation, Petition, and Reformation, is our duty; neceſſary on our part in order to ſalvation, whether temporal or ſpiritual ſalvation. And if it be performed by us in truth and ſincerity, *God* will doubtleſs accompliſh it. [1 *Kings*, 8. 47.] Read that full promiſe to this purpoſe, [2 *Chron.* 7. 14.] But here's an objection: Unbelief may object, how can this be: our enemies are the chief, we were condemned to death by the magiſtrates, and to baniſhment; and to damnation by the miniſtry, who ſigned the bills of our execution; and here we are

held by a law made on purpoſe to hold us faſt in ſervitude for 10 years; and if we ſhould outlive that time, we may not return without a quietus, which is very unlikely will be granted.

Anſwer. Tho' our enemies are the great men of the Earth, yet they are but men: and there is a greater than the greateſt who regardeth [*Eccles.* 5. 8], and there be higher than they. [*Job* 33. 12] God *is greater than man*, men are but finite, *God* is infinite: their hearts, their power, their breath and life are in his hands. He diſpoſeth of Kings, kingdoms, and nations, for he is King of kings, Lord of lords, the chief proprietour of the whole world. If he will work, who can let it? He can change hearts, times, and laws. [*Dan.* 2. 20] *Daniel* bleſſeth *God, for wiſdom and might are his; and he changeth the times and the ſeaſons, he removeth kings*

and ſetteth up kings. He can make a way through the Sea, for his ranſomed to paſs. [*Exod.* 14 and *Joſhua* 3. *Iſa.* 43. 16.] *Which maketh a way in the ſea, and a path in the mighty waters.* Let us have a care of the fooliſh ſin of Unbelief, in queſtioning what *God* can do for us, leaſt he deal with us as he did with the children of *Iſrael* who tempted *God* in their hearts. [*Pſ.* 78. 18, 19] *They ſpake againſt* God, *they ſaid, Can* God *furniſh a table in the wilderneſs?* at this *God* was wrath. [21 and 30, 31 ver. *Num.* 11. 33.] 'Tis a very provoking, deſtructive ſin to queſtion what *God* can do for our deliverance: when he hath told us, the prey ſhall be taken from the mighty and terrible enemies, and how he will do it by contending with them. Who ever did contend with the *Almighty* and proſper? And while we were thus endeavouring to ſtrengthen

our Faith, and Hope, and Patience in waiting upon *God* in the way of our duty; *God* was working out our deliverance in a wonderful manner by changing times and things, yea Kings and Laws.

Our terrible Enemy was forced to fly like *Cain* when purſued by the cry of his Brother's blood; and could find no reſt or refuge in any of his dominions, but he fled to the *Romiſh* for relief and refuge: but he found that all their powers could not heal his wounded conſcience, nor recover his kingdoms. For the *Almighty* contended with him, and all that contended for him were aſhamed and confounded, in all their plots, policies, prayers, and force. In *Iſaiah* 7. 18. *God* can hiſs for a flie beyond the river, and for a bee, to overthrow kingdoms. *God* did call for the Prince of *Orange*, who with a ſmall power, having

a Commiſſion from above, to overthrow the mighty and terrible one that had made a prey of many.

2 *Kings*, 9 chap. 11 verſ. and on, we read how *God* in juſtice cut off the Houſe of *Ahab* for his ſins, by his own ſervants and chief Captains, by whom his whole Family and poſterity were cut off. [2 *Kings*, 9, 10 chaps.] If a parallel be made, the ſins and puniſhments would be found much alike; treachery, idolatry, murder, bloodſhed, perjury, &c. which ended in a total Revolution. Thus we ſee if *God* will contend with the mountains, they muſt fall. And that the mercy, power, and juſtice of *God* might appear the more viſibly to all men, he did this mighty work, *not by battle, nor by bow, nor by ſword, by horſes, nor by horſemen,* but by the *Lord* our *God* according to *Hoſea* 1. 7. This was done by the mighty operation of

his ſpirit upon the hearts of the Nation in general, to act quite reverſe to what they did but a little before. Many that had preached up non-reſiſtance, and paſſive obedience, and damnation to thoſe that did reſiſt; and ſigned the bills of execution, for the great crime of oppoſing Popery and ſlavery, and to preſerve our Bibles, our ſelves and families from the fire; theſe very men were become of quite another mind according to that. [*Zech.* 4. 6, 7] *This is the word of the* Lord *unto* Zerubbabel, *ſaying*, *Not by might*, (or army, as 'tis in the margent), *nor by power*, *but by my ſpirit*, *ſaith the* Lord *of Hoſts*, *Who art thou*, *O great mountain?* even *thou ſhalt become a plain.*

When *God* will raiſe up ſaviours, the mountains of oppoſition muſt fall. The Magiſtrates, as well as the Miniſters, that had been very officious in taking up, impriſoning, and condemning us,

were convinced of their error, that they were glad of a ſaviour. This mighty change of Men's hearts was a mighty Work of the Almighty *God*, to whom be glory, honour, dominion, and power for ever.

When we that were in captivity heard of this glorious Revolution, that the captive Leader was gone into captivity, and King *William* ſettled in the throne of the kingdom, Though we were but like them that dream, yet *was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with ſinging: then ſaid we among the heathen, The* Lord *hath done great things, The* Lord *hath done great things for us: whereof we are glad:* Which one of our taſk-maſters reſented as a new rebellion, and told us he was ſorry with all his heart at this tidings; but I told him I was glad with all my heart: whether their fear, or our hopes of freedom, was

greateſt I know not. But it was generally concluded that we ſhould have our Freedom, when a new Governour did come, for whom we waited with patience and hope until May 1690. The laſt day of May, the Governour Earl of *Inciqueen* arrived at *Port Royal:* a few days after, I deſired one of our Men to ride down to hear how it was like to go with us; he ſoon returned with an account that two of our Men had been with the Governour to deſire their freedom, and that the ſaid Governour had them publickly whipt, and put in priſon all night, and ſent to their ſervice next morning: at which tidings our hopes were daſhed; but when I had conſidered the matter, that there might be ſome miſbehaviour, for which they were corrected, I was reſolved to know more of the matter before I could conclude upon our loſt hopes. To that end I went to

Port Royal the 10th day of June, and firſt ſhewed myſelf to my maſter *Hutchenſon*, who aſked me, What I did there? I told him I thought he knew my buſineſs; Yes, ſaith he, for your freedom, I warrant. Whiles ye are come down, I would have you ſpeak with the Governour, that you may be fully reſolved. He ſpake as if he had been aſſured of my ill ſucceſs. I went from him to confer with ſome friends in town about my buſineſs, who could give me no encouragement, nor hopes of ſucceſs. I ſuppoſed that their concluſions were only from the former ill ſucceſs, and therefore kept up my reſolutions of ſpeaking with the Governour, if poſſible I could; but could have none to aſſiſt, or accompany me in this undertaking: but all our fellow ſufferers being fallen into deſpair, adviſed me againſt it, fearing the whip; and to render our condition worſe than

before. The ſame evening I went about 4 miles out of Town to ſee if I could get *Gideon Dare*, one of our Men, to go with me to endeavour to ſpeak with the Governour; which I reſolved to do, tho' I had heard they, under my circumſtance at *Barbadoes*, were denied their Liberty. But when I came to Mr. *Dare*, at the very ſight of me he fell into ſuch a paſſion of ſorrows, and tears, and ſobs, that he could not ſpeak a word for a while; which I endeavoured to put him out of, by aſking him for ſome victuals and drink for ſupper; he told me they had ſupped, but there was ſomething left which he ordered to be brought. And let us have ſome Punch made, ſaid I, hoping to bring him to a better temper, which was done: and after a little while, aſked a reaſon of his exceſſive ſorrow. He told me we were all undone, we ſhould never ſee our wives and children

any more. I aſked him how he knew that; he told me there was no hope left, rehearſing the ill ſucceſs our Brethren had, by going to the Governour. I told him this did not altogether diſcourage me, and that I could not be ſatisfied without farther enquiry in the matter: I told him my reſolution was, if poſſible, to ſpeak with the Governour, and deſired his aſſiſtance and company in my endeavour; which he flatly denied, ſaying, It was to no purpoſe, there was no hope left for us: all my endeavours that night would not prevail with him ſo much as to go to *Port Royal;* ſo about 11 at night, we lay down to ſleep, but my ſleep was but little, for my * * * [*Here ſome leaves of the MS. are wanting.*] * * you and others have received here, you do not bring evil upon the whole Iland, but rather, be favour-

able to the whole, for the ſake of a few. Pray *God* direct you. I doubt not but *God* will find out his enemies, and the enemies of his faithful ſervants, either by converſion or by deſtruction. My love to Mr. *Gideon Dare*, and all your ſhip-mates, and my love to your and my good friend Mrs. *Elvin*, not forgetting her Huſband. We had a wearieſome journey home; but hope we ſhall recover it. My Wife, and Siſter, *John*, and *Robert*, ſend their love. This with my true love to yourſelf, and the other part of yourſelf when you ſee her. I remain your unfained loving friend, *Harkes Garbrand.*

This good man, at whoſe houſe we had had many comfortable Sabbaths, was afraid ſome judgement would befal the whole Iland for their cruelty to us: which tarried not long before it fell very heavy upon the Iland in general.

In order to our paſſage home, Mr. *Dare* and I and a few more got a paſſage in a merchant ſhip, the better to avoid the rude rabble in he Man of War; and ours being more private, and men kept in better order. Having our leave of our friends, and received their preſents, which were valuable, and comfortable in our Journey, we departed, and left the ſight of the Iland the 9th day of September: 14th made the Highlands of *Cuba:* 15th turned the Cape *Antonio:* 16th paſt under the tropick of *Cancer:* 21ſt came to the *Havanna*, a well fortified *Spaniſh* City, where Captain *Sprage* went aſhore to deſire wood and water for our voyage; which being granted we ſteered for the harbour of *Matanzas*, where entering we had a violent ſtorm, but got in ſafe. 29th Setting out ran a-ground, by good Providence got out ſafe, and at about one

in the morning, being very dark, we were like to run upon the *Florida* Cape; but Land being diſcovered by a ſmall veſſel which was got a little before the Man of War, fired a gun to give notice; the Man of War fired, and we all threw out our deeps, and found 12 fathom; the Man of War having but two fathom more than ſhe drew, which put us all into a great conſternation: at which we ſteered back till day light, and then entered the Gulf, and paſt it ſafely, which runneth between the degrees of 24 and 28 latitude.

We had a hard Paſſage by reaſon of a contrary Wind, where we ſprung a great leak. 9th of October we had a violent ſtorm: 10th the Man of War, about 11 o'clock, loſt his fore-maſt and main-yard full in our ſight, at which our Captain cried out, He is gone, he is gone; but they had their broad axes

ready, and chopt off her rigging, and ſhe recovered. In the ſame ſtorm the *Antelope* of *London* loſt his mizen yard.

October 17 and 18, we had very bad weather. Nov. 1, On the Banks of *Newfoundland* we had a very great ſtorm, where we loſt ſight of 3 of our ſhips; and ſoon after loſt ſight of all our fleet, which was 32 ſail homeward bound. Nov. 5, At night we had an exceeding ſtorm, which broke the tiller of our rudder, leaving the piece in the rudder head: that whole day the ſtorm continuing we were in very great diſtreſs, but thro' the mercy of *God* in directing and aſſiſting me, who was the only Carpenter aboard, that night and next morning that was ſet at rights, the ſtorm continuing: Monday, ſplit our foreſail and we were in great danger, our leak continued until Wedneſday 13th at night. Thurſday 14th, we had a fair

wind and ſea, but loſt ſight of all our fleet in the ſtorm. But here, I muſt obſerve, the 5th of November, at night before the ſtorm, our Captain called up Mr. *Dare* and me into his Cabin to drink a bottle of wine with him, and while we were diſcourſing of the wonderful deliverance we had on that day from the powder plot, it fell in very dark all of a ſudden, and *God* was pleaſed to give us a ſign of the ſtorm approaching by a corpoſant on the top of the main maſt; by which we had a little time to prepare for it, by furling the ſails, reefing, and lowering the main-yard, &c. So that by the mercy of *God* and his good providence we rode it out, with ſuch damage as is before related. Though the Boatſwain, &c. were for lightening the Ship by caſting out her cargo, yet we prevented them, and all was ſaved. In this Storm our perſonal

ſufferings were great: The ſeas riſing like mountains oft time broke in upon us, ſo that we could light no fire, or dreſs any proviſion, or have any dry clothes, or lodging, for many days: Neither could any obſervation of latitude be taken for 9 or 10 days time, which put us in great fear. 15th Day our Maſter got an obſervation, and cried out with much joy, I have it, I have it. He preſently went to his Cabin and caſt it, and came forth and comforted us, that we were well enough. But then for fear of the *French* Privateers, being alone, we came to a reſolution to go to bottom fighting, rather than be carried to *France*. To this end we cleared our Decks, and poſted all our men to their particular great guns. But we had this benefit of the ſtorm, the *French* were driven by it into their harbours, and we eſcaped them ſafely.

Saturday 22nd at 4 o'Clock deeming we drew near ſome land, ſounded and found 75 fathom of water; next morning ſounded and found 54 deep; and at noon found 50 fathom. The firſt ſight of Land was a little below *Plymouth*.

When we came near *Plymouth*, I adviſed our Maſter by all means to put into the harbour, ſeeing we were alone, and the ſeas ſo infeſted with Privateers. I thought it preſumption to run the adventure, he was very adverſe to it, and paſſed it by; but I ſtill perſuaded him to ſhow better reaſons againſt it, than I had given for it: He told me it would coſt 5*l.* for a Pilot to carry her in, and would be a month before they could get out again. I told him that ſeeing the ſhip leaky, the ſeas dangerous, and we alone, it was great preſumption, and if we ſhould get ſafe to *London* thro' ſuch hazards, his Maſters would not thank

him, nor commend his prudence; and if we ſhould miſcarry, he muſt bear the blame. At which he ordered to turn back tho' we were as far up as *Dartmouth;* and when we were before *Plymouth,* fired a gun for a Pilot, who came ſtraightway on board, and undertook it: and ſoon after came off a man of wars 8 men, to preſs our ſea-men; they ſeeing them coming, ran away from their work, and hid themſelves under deck amongſt the goods. The ſhip being under ſail and near land, had not the Preſs helped us, we muſt aſſuredly ſplit upon the Rocks in the Harbour. We were ſo near, before we could ſtay the ſhip that we were forced to draw her back from the rocks, by the anchors one after another, and ſo were preſerved by the good Providence of *God,* and our endeavours, from this danger at Sea. The day we arrived was the 24th of November

1690. On the ſame day of the ſame month we anchored in *Jamaica* 1685. So that our perilous times were by the inconceivable, wonderful mercy, and good Providence of our *God*, by one half of what was intended by our enemies cut ſhort.

Dec. 4th got home, and found my Wife and 3 Sons living, but in a poor low condition.

PRINTED BY CHARLES WHITTINGHAM

1849

[*Since the publication of the preceding pages the matter ſtated to be wanting at page* 132 *has been found in a copy of the original MS. and is here given.*]

* * * thoughts were ſo ſet upon the buſineſs I had reſolved upon; the ſmall aſſiſtance I muſt expect from any others, who were generally unwilling to part with us, the diſcouragements from our own men, and the difficulty of acceſs to the Governour, who was always under a double-guard, and not to be ſpoken with, without a Petition, approved of by his neareſt attendants; all which muſt lye upon my hands: ſo it hindered my ſleep, but, not altered my reſolution: thus ended the troubles of the 10th of June 1690.

The next day, as ſoon as it was light, I got up; and after looking up for guidance, direction and ſucceſs to him that hath the hearts of Kings and Governours, and diſpoſeth of times and things at his pleaſure, I went forth and walked alone in the paſture behind the houſe; conſidering of drawing a Petition to the Governour in the beſt form I could think of, which I thought muſt be ſhort, and without complaints, and reflections upon our Maſters, or complaints of our own ſufferings, leſt we ſhould cauſe heats and diſputes among them; but after giving him the title of His Excellency, being an Earl, I thought the ſetting before him the miſeries of our Wives and Children at home, for want of our labour to relieve their neceſſities, the thoughts of which had quite broken the hearts of ſome already, and in all likelyhood would be the Death of many

more of us, if not prevented by his clemency; for which we were his Excellency's humble Petitioners and ſhall ever pray &c. When I had conſidered theſe things, Mr. *Dare* came forth to me and I again deſired him to go with me to *Port Royal;* his anſwer was, What ſhall I do there, 'tis to no purpoſe, when I could not prevail with any arguments.

An unuſual Sign next to a wonder was ſet before us, which was, a Negro went and opened the Penn of Sheep, and let them forth at large, and they fed in the paſture a little while, and after, went into the Penn of their own accord; while we ſtood at a diſtance and ſaw them. At which I told him there was an example to ſhew him, that, if he might be at liberty and would not, he might continue in the Penn if he pleaſed. At which he ſaid, Then I will go with you; and we ſet out and came to *Port Royal.* Di-

vers of our men, of whom there were about 40 in the Town, came to us, and all of them were againſt our petitioning; ſaying we ſhould get nothing but the whip for our labor, and if ſo they ſhould never enjoy themſelves no more. I ſaid petitioning was no hanging matter, and if he were whipt in a juſt cauſe, it was no ſhame, to follow my reſolution.

I went into my chamber alone, and drew out the Petition I had conſidered on in the Morning, and ſhew'd it to Mr. *Dare* and *Richard Symes* another of our men, and aſked their advice about the matter and manner of it; who ſaid, It was well enough but to no purpoſe. I made it my buſineſs in the afternoon to watch a fit opportunity to preſent my Petition, when the Governour was at liberty from company: and a little before ſun-ſet, I found him walking in his back court alone, I ſtept back and called

Mr. *Dare*, and told him, now was the Time, when he was alone; but he was very fearful and loth to go; but at laſt I got him to follow me; and we came to the firſt Guard and told them, we had buſineſs to my Lord; they ſaid, Paſs on. When we came to the ſecond Guard we told them we had buſineſs to my Lord, What is your buſineſs, ſaid they: then I delivered the Petition which they read, and one of them carried it to the Governour his Maſter, and waited for his anſwer at the Entrance of the houſe; and we were detained at the other gate, and could ſee him walk to and fro in the court, peruſing the Petition, and conſidering the matter a conſiderable time: At length he aſked, where are the men? The man that waited his motion beckon'd to us, and we went in before him, who received us very kindly, with a compliment of a ſmall bow; he aſked me,

Are you one of the men that was with me before? I anſwered, No my Lord, I never ſaw your Excellency 'till this day; His anſwer was, I have received an order to ſet you all free, and the King hath given orders for your coming home; go, and pay your reſpects to your Maſters, and in two or three days your buſineſs ſhall be accompliſhed. I humbly thanked his Excellency, and wiſhed him a happy Government and withdrew.

The Tidings went thro' the Town like lightening, and our fellow-ſufferers met us in the ſtreet before we got into our quarters, making a great noiſe. They would have an Ox roaſted in the ſtreet; I told them, that we were ordered by the Governour to behave ourſelves reſpectfully to our Maſters, and if they would make ſuch diſturbance, I would begone and leave them as I found them.

They replied they would go and give us wine; I told them, we would have none of their wine; and with many perſuaſions we ſent them to their homes, and we ſhew'd ourſelves to both our Maſters with one and the ſame Man, who ſaid, I hear you have got your Freedom: we anſwered, We have the King's Order by the Governour for it. That very evening, a Knot of about a dozen of the Maſters were got together in the ſtreet, whom I doubted were conſulting againſt us: and ſo it appeared afterwards, for a Member of Parliament told me in *London* after I came home, that they had hired a ſloop to bring a Petition to the King and Parliament, ſetting forth, That if we were taken away from them, they muſt throw up the Iland; for they had no others they could truſt with their buſineſs. Which, he told me, they could do no leſs than make an

Act for our continuance in the Iland, but as free men there. The Governour having granted us our Freedom, called together his grand council next day, he delivered the Petition which was made to him, which they read, and the Governour having waited a conſiderable time, and they made no objection, he told them, it was the King's pleaſure, that thoſe Men ſhould be ſet free; and he deſired that the Marſhal ſhould be ſent for, and make Proclamation: but the Council deſired ſome days' reſpite; which made us doubt of ſome ill deſign againſt us. I told Mr. *Dare* that I thought they would not make Proclamation while we were in Town, on which we concluded to go to our reſpective homes: And ſoon after Proclamation was made, that we were all Free-Men. We both went to Capt. *Trankmor* who had the King's orders to bring home

ſuch as would, in a Ship of war, which was a Convoy to the Fleet, we aſked him when he intended to ſail; he told us he had expreſs orders to ſtay but one month in the Harbour, and no longer he would ſtay, if the fleet would not get ready by the laſt of June Inſtant, he would go without them. Which words were heard by one that came at that time to invite him aſhore to dinner, he told us what the charge of the Ship was to the King monthly, and reſolved to keep to his time; which reſolution ſo contradicted our taſk-maſter's deſign, as coſt the captain his life; for they had reſolved to detain the Convoy and Fleet. The pretended reaſon was, that the Merchants could not get a Cargo ready; but more probably the ſloop they had hired for three hundred pound, would not return ſo ſoon from *England* with an Act of Parliament to detain us in the

land of our captivity. No man knows better how to lay out his money for gain than a Merchant does. By it they accompliſh their deſigns as far as *God* doth permit. They know by experience that new comers to travail in that hot country, and drinking high, with the heat of the country, and going to ſee plantations, inclines men to drink, and puts their blood in ſuch a ferment, and ſcarce ever fails of carrying them off in a few days: which had proved fatal to King *William's* firſt Captain that came to give notice of his acceſſion to the Throne, and orders to turn out Papiſt Officers and put Proteſtants in their places. Now again our Captain had the like invitation and kindneſs ſhewn him to ride out and ſee their plantations with them, and had the ſame fate with the former Captain: And now the Lieutenant being made Captain, and the Governour their friend,

the Fleet, that was intended to ſail the laſt of June, was detained till the fourth of September following, by which they thought to have their purpoſe on us: but not hearing of the return of the ſloop, the Governour, who knew the King's Order not to detain the Fleet, gave order for ſailing the 4th of September: but we muſt lye at the Quay 2 Days longer, though the winter was coming on and ſailing would be dangerous. But our *God* had fruſtrated their wicked deſigns againſt us, for we never heard of the ſloop any more, and we were by the Mercy and Providence of *God* delivered out of their hands: but many of us were in miſerable condition to take ſuch a voyage in winter, being almoſt naked, only a little linnen to cover their nakedneſs. Their condition I much pitied, and went with them to a Juſtice in the Town before we ſet ſail, but our com-

plaint was to no purpoſe. Though I had not as much cauſe to complain as ſome others, yet I told them our complaint may be heard in another place, and 'twas not for their honour, nor, might be, for their profit to ſend away ſuch men, as ſerved ſo long for nought, in ſo ſad a condition.

As to my own caſe the owner of the Plantation where I ſerved was Colonel *Bach* of *London* a very conſcientious man; who, about a year after my ſervice began, ſent me a letter, with very charitable and Chriſtian and compaſſionate expreſſions; That he had given orders to his Truſtee Mr. *Hutchinſon* at *Port Royal* to be kind to us, in ſome priviledges to make up ſome of our loſſes: and when our four years were expired the reſt of our time that we ſerved him, he ſhould pay us wages for as to other free-men; for, I fear *God*

ſaith he, &c. Having incouragement from him, I followed my work and kept an account at a lower rate than is uſual in that country for work; expecting my wages, I delivered the Bill of my particulars of my work to Mr. *Hutchinſon*, but received nothing 'till I was juſt leaving the Iland, and made my laſt viſit to take my leave of him, which I acquainted his apprentice with, for he kept himſelf above ſtairs, and ordered him to give me Ten Pound, which was all I had for my Bill of 36*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* There was 26*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* pocket money for one that was overloaded before, and had neither wife nor Child to leave it to.

My true friend Mr. *Harkes Garbrand* was with me ſome Days at *Port Royal*, and was acquainted with our hard meaſure from our Maſters. On which account as ſoon as he returned home, he

ſent me a letter expreſs by a Negro, which I here recite in his own words.

Morant, Auguſt 16th 1690.

Dear Friend,

You are much on my heart and I know you are no whit behind me in reciprocal love. I cannot, nor ſhall not, be unmindful of you at the Throne of Grace, hoping and beſeeching that *God's* Preſence may accompany you in the voyage and abide with you to your journey's end. Something I have to ſay to you; Conſider of that, while you complain of the injuries * *

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 021 934 436 3